THE

CABINET OF GEOGRAPHY.

CONDUCTED BY THE

REV. DIONYSIUS LARDNER, LL.D. F.R.S. L. & E.
M.R.I.A. F.L.S. F.Z.S. Hon. F.C.P.S. M.Ast.S. &c. &c.

ASSISTED BY

EMINENT LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC MEN.

THE

HISTORY

OF

MARITIME AND INLAND DISCOVERY.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR
LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN,
PATERNOSTER-ROW,
AND JOHN TAYLOR,
UPPER GOWER STREET.
1830.

London:
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

PROSPECTUS

CABINET CYCLOPÆDIA,

CONDUCTED BY THE

REV. DIONYSIUS LARDNER, LL.D. F.R.S. L. & E.

M.R.I.A. F.L.S. F.Z.S. Hon. F.C.P.S. M.Ast.S. &c.

ASSISTED BY

EMINENT LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC MEN.

1. The work will be continued in Monthly Volumes, foolscap 8vo. price 6s.
2. Each volume will be embellished with a handsome Vignette Title, designed and engraved by eminent artists.
3. The quantity of letter press will vary from 3[illegible]0 to 100 pages.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR

LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN,

PATERNOSTER-ROW,

AND JOHN TAYLOR,

UPPER GOWER STREET.

THIS work is intended to form a popular compendium of whatever is useful, instructive, and interesting in the circle of human knowledge. A novel plan of publication and arrangement will be adopted, which will present peculiar advantages. Without fully detailing the method, a few of these advantages may be mentioned.

Each volume will contain one or more subjects uninterrupted and unbroken, and will be accompanied by the corresponding plates or other appropriate illustrations. Facility of reference will be obtained without fettering the work by a continual alphabetical arrangement. A subscriber may omit particular volumes, or sets of volumes, without disintegrating his series. Thus each purchaser may form from the "CABINET" a Cyclopædia, more or less comprehensive, as may suit his means, taste, or profession. If a subscriber desire to discontinue the work at any stage of its publication, the volumes which

he may have received will not lose their value by separation from the rest of the work, since they will always either be complete in themselves, or may be made so at a trifling expense.

The purchasers will never find their property in this work destroyed by the publication of new editions. The arrangement is such that particular volumes may be re-edited or re-written without disturbing the others. The "CABINET CYCLOPÆDIA" will thus be in a state of continual renovation, keeping pace with the never-ceasing improvements in knowledge, drawing within its circle from year to year whatever is new, and casting off whatever is obsolete, so as to form a constantly modernised Cyclopædia. Such are a few of the advantages which the proprietors have to offer to the public, and which they pledge themselves to realise.

Treatises on subjects which are technical and professional will be adapted, not so much to those who desire to attain a practical proficiency, as to those who seek that portion of information respecting such matters which is generally expected from well-educated persons. An interest will be imparted to what is abstract by copious illustrations, and the sciences will be rendered attractive, by treating them with reference to the most familiar objects and occurrences.

The unwieldy bulk of Encyclopædias, not less than the abstruse discussions which they contain, has hitherto consigned them to the library, as works of only occasional reference. The present work, from its portable form and popular style, will claim a place in the drawing-room and the boudoir. Forming in itself *a complete library*, affording an extensive and infinitely varied store of instruction and amusement, presenting just so much on every subject as those not professionally engaged in it require convenient in size, attractive in form, elegant in illustrations, and most moderate in expense, the "CABINET CYCLOPÆDIA" will, it is hoped, be found an object of paramount interest in every family.

To the heads of schools and all places of public educa-

tion, the proprietors trust that this work will particularly recommend itself.

It seems scarcely necessary to add, that nothing will be admitted into the pages of the "CABINET CYCLOPÆDIA" which can have the most remote tendency to offend public or private morals. To enforce the cultivation of religion and the practice of virtue should be a principal object with all who undertake to inform the public mind; but with the views just explained, the conductor of this work feels these considerations more especially pressed upon his attention. Parents and guardians may, therefore, rest assured that they will never find it necessary to place a volume of the "CABINET" beyond the reach of their children or pupils.

The CABINET CYCLOPÆDIA not being intended to be formed of materials merely compiled from works already published, but to consist, as far as possible, of original treatises, from the pens of those who are most eminent in every branch of knowledge, the Conductor, for obvious reasons, cannot pledge himself to the precise extent of each department, nor even to all the subjects which it may be found advantageous to introduce or omit. Nevertheless, it may be desirable to exhibit the plan and principal divisions of the work, as they at present suggest themselves.

I. THE CABINET OF NATURAL PHILOSOPHY — Including Pure Mathematics, the several branches of Physics — Chemistry, &c. 8 Vols.
II. THE CABINET OF ARTS — The Fine Arts — the Useful Arts — Manufactures, &c. 10 Vols.
III. THE CABINET OF NATURAL HISTORY. — Zoology — Botany — Mineralogy — Geology. 12 Vols.
IV. THE CABINET OF GEOGRAPHY. — The History of Geographical Discovery — Descriptive Geography — Physical Geography. 6 Vols.
V. THE CABINET OF PHILOSOPHY — Political and Moral — Religion — Education, &c. 6 Vols.
VI. THE CABINET OF LITERATURE. — Language — Belles Lettres — Histories of Literature. 6 Vols.
VII. THE CABINET OF HISTORY — Histories of various Countries — Antiquities — Manners and Customs — Mythology — Chronology, &c. 24 Vols.
VIII. THE CABINET OF BIOGRAPHY. — Political, Military, Naval, Religious, Scientific, Poetical, Classical, &c. 24 Vols.
IX. THE CABINET DICTIONARY OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART. 6 Vols.

The extent here assigned to the work may be considered on the whole as one which it will not surpass, although

it may be found expedient in some of the departments to abridge, and in others to extend, the assigned limits. Facility of reference will be obtained by annexing to each volume a copious Index; and the Ninth Division will form in itself a compact CYCLOPÆDIA, in which every name and term of Art will be alphabetically arranged, and accompanied by a short notice or explanation, together with a reference to that volume of the work in which a more detailed account may be found.

Since the plan of the work does not render a particular order of publication necessary, the volumes will not succeed each other according to the above scheme: such subjects will appear from time to time as will sustain an interest by variety during the period of publication.

It is not expected that the volumes of the "CABINET CYCLOPÆDIA" will be studied for professional purposes. The lawyer, the physician, and the divine, will seek elsewhere that profound knowledge of the details of their respective subjects which is necessary to the attainment of eminence in their professions. The treatises which are designed for this work will, on the contrary, be suited to the *general reader*, and will, therefore, contain just so much information on every subject as those who are not professionally engaged in it require. Since the great stimulus to study, immediate utility or profit, will, therefore, operate in a less degree in this case, it will be the more necessary to invest each subject with as many adventitious attractions as may be consistent with sound reasoning and a pure taste. These observations are indifferently applicable to every department of the work. It may be useful, however, to notice more particularly certain subjects.

Of the Arts and Sciences.

Attention is especially invited to this part of the work, because it is here that it will deviate most widely from the plan of other publications which have appeared under the same denomination. To present the several arts and sciences in a form which shall

be universally intelligible, to render them attractive to the general reader, yet, at the same time, to inculcate sound principles, and, by transfusing through the whole work a philosophic spirit, not only to stimulate the diffusion of knowledge, but to raise the tone of the public mind, and to awaken a taste for the contemplation of the works of nature and the results of art, is the great object to be accomplished. That this end may be attained, it will be necessary, as far as possible, to divest science of its technicalities; to abandon its conventional language; to dispense with those great aids to expression derived from peculiar forms of notation; and to unfold its truths in the colloquial phraseology of ordinary life. To do all this, without sacrificing that soundness of reasoning, and those fine generalisations which constitute the spirit of true science, and alone distinguish it from knowledge merely practical, is possible to those only who are conversant with its most profound details. Impressed with this conviction, the Conductor has thought it advisable to solicit the aid of some of the highest characters in the scientific world. In stating this, it is gratifying to add, that his exertions have been crowned with success.

An opinion is entertained by some eminent men unfavourable to what is called "Popular Science." This feeling has probably originated from the superficial and unsound character of many of the works which have lately effected that style. The names of the persons who are engaged in the scientific department of the work are the strongest guarantee which can be offered that the treatises which will compose the CABINET CYCLOPÆDIA shall never be numbered in this class.

Of History and Biography.

The volumes of history, like those of science and art, will be popular, in the just sense of the term. Excluding dry details of unimportant actions, and tedious disquisitions on abstract subjects, they will present in

a connected series all those events which contribute to the great end of history—the knowledge of man. The materials will be drawn from the most original sources. What is historically certain will be distinguished from that which is only presumed with probability, and both will be carefully set apart from what is merely legendary. Tales which have been hallowed by antiquity, or perpetuated by the fascination of poetry, will be admitted, because they have been gradually mixed up and associated with much that is real and truly useful; but they will bear the stamp of fiction full upon them. Deeds of savage ferocity will not be held up to admiration under the names of valour and heroism; and injustice and rapacity, so often praised under the name of ambition, will be exposed in their true colours, and stigmatised with historic infamy. While a spirit of freedom will be encouraged, the benefits of order and subordination will be strongly enforced both by example and precept. No party politics whatever will be admitted into the CABINET CYCLOPÆDIA: the cultivation of virtue, and the diffusion of sound political wisdom, will be its great and leading objects.

Much that has been said of history may also be applied to Biography. In the latter, however, we must not lose sight of that which will always constitute its greatest charm,—the delineation of personal character. The lives of eminent persons are often closely connected with the political events of their times. Hence it will frequently be necessary to introduce historical matter into biographic sketches. Except where it is necessary to give connection to the narrative, or to illustrate personal character, such matter must, however, be sparingly used, as it is desirable not to repeat unnecessarily in one department of the work what has been already introduced in another. Detailed lives will be given of conspicuous characters only, all of minor importance being consigned to the Lexicographical department.

LONDON:
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

THE

CABINET CYCLOPÆDIA.

LONDON :
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

THE

CABINET CYCLOPÆDIA.

CONDUCTED BY THE

REV. DIONYSIUS LARDNER, LL.D. F.R.S. L.&E.

M.R.I.A. F.L.S. F.Z.S. Hon. F.C.P.S. M.Ast.S. &c. &c.

ASSISTED BY

EMINENT LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC MEN.

Geography.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR

LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN,

PATERNOSTER-ROW,

AND JOHN TAYLOR,

UPPER GOWER STREET.

1830.

CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE ANCIENTS.

CHAP. I.

CHAP. II.

THE GREEKS. — HOMERIC AGE.

CHAP. III.

GREEKS CONTINUED. — HISTORIC AGE.

CHAP. IV.

THE GREEKS CONTINUED.

CHAP. V.

GREEKS CONTINUED.

CHAP. VI.

THE GREEKS CONTINUED.

CHAP. VII

DISCOVERY OF THE MONSOONS.

CHAP. VIII

PTOLEMY.

CHAP. IX.

ON THE COMMERCE OF THE ANCIENTS.

CHAP. X.

MYTHIC GEOGRAPHY OF THE HINDOOS, AND ITS CONNECTION WITH THE GRECIAN MYTHS.

BOOK II.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAP. I.

THE ARABIANS.

CHAP. II.

TRAVELS OF IBN BATUTA.

CHAP. III.

TRAVELS OF IBN BATUTA CONTINUED.

BOOK III.

PROGRESS OF GEOGRAPHY IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAP. I.

DISCOVERIES OF THE NORTHMEN.

CHAP. II.

MAPS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAP. III.

JOURNEY OF CARPINI INTO TATARY.

CHAP. IV.

TRAVELS OF RUBRUQUIS.

CHAP. V.

TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO.

CONTENTS.

CHAP VI.

TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO CONTINUED

CHAP VII.

ODERIC OF PORTENAU.

CHAP VIII

EMBASSY OF CLAVIJO.

CHAP. IX.

CHAP. X.

THE PASSAGE BY THE CAPE DISCOVERED.

CHAP. XI.

COLUMBUS.



BOOK I.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE ANCIENTS.

CHAP. I.

INTRODUCTION. — WANDERING PROPENSITY OF PRIMITIVE MAN. — SLOW GROWTH OF GEOGRAPHY. — THE HEBREWS. — THE MOSAIC GENESIS. — SIMPLE COSMOLOGY. — THE PHŒNICIANS. — ANTIQUITY OF THEIR NAVIGATIONS. — THEIR OBSCURITY.

The history of the progress of geographical knowledge is calculated more than that of any other branch of learning to illustrate the progressive civilisation of mankind. It has for its object, in some measure, the diffusion of the species, but is more immediately connected with the advancement of navigation and commercial enterprise. Instead of confining the attention to the fortunes of a particular community, it carries the eye of the enquirer continually abroad, to survey all the nations of the earth, to mark the knowledge they obtained of one another, and the extent of their mutual acquaintance.

The principal charm of savage life arises from the unlimited range which it allows over the face of nature.

Those who have once tasted the pleasure of roving at large through woods and mountains, can never afterwards feel happy under the restraints of society. Curiosity and the love of action, no less than their wants, must have continually urged the earliest inhabitants of the globe to explore all the varieties of its surface. Pastoral tribes feel an interest in learning the nature of the country in the vicinity of their encampments, the extent of its pastures, and the rivers which flow through and refresh it. But the observations of a rude age are seldom accumulated beyond the wants of the present moment. The movements by which those nomades acquire the knowledge along with the possession of new regions, generally lead to a total forgetfulness of their old habitations; little correspondence is maintained by those who migrate with those who remain behind: so that in a short time the geographical knowledge of migratory nations is reduced to obscure and fading traditions.

When men in the progress of their migrations reach the sea coast, the love of gain as well as of adventure soon impel them to launch upon the waves, and direct their course to distant countries. But the complicated art of navigation requires many ages to bring it to perfection. Science alone can give certainty to the observations of the mariner; and the discoveries of the early navigators were as perishable as they were vaguely described. Besides, in proportion as the spirit of adventure prevailed among the motives of the earliest expeditions, a corresponding desire to indulge in exaggeration and romantic fiction disfigured all the relations which remain of them. Wonder and credulity, however, are the natural characteristics of an early age, and we must not regard as wholly fabulous those accounts of antiquity, in which we find a few threads of consistent fact, interwoven with much that is absolutely incredible.

Geography of the Hebrews.

The earliest geographical records which remain to us are those of the sacred scriptures. The Hebrews them-

selves, an inland and pastoral nation, had probably but little direct acquaintance with distant countries. For their knowledge of commerce, and of the nations with which it opened a correspondence, they were perhaps chiefly indebted to the Egyptians and Phœnicians: but the account which Moses gives of the first progenitors of mankind, and of the nations which sprung from them, is unquestionably derived from peculiar sources.

All the nations of the old world distinctly known to the sacred historian, are reduced by him to the families of Shem, Ham, and Japhet. The children of these patriarchs are also enumerated by him, and each of them appears as the founder of a nation; but in those early ages it is impossible to affix with certainty to any region a name which properly belongs to a wandering horde. The Mosaic account (Genesis x.), however, is a precious record of the manner in which the knowledge of the earth was enlarged by the dispersion of the human species.

The family of Shem comprised the pastoral nations which were spread over the plains between the Euphrates and the shores of the Mediterranean, from Ararat to Arabia. The Hebrews themselves were of this stock, and the resemblance of their language with the Aramean or ancient Syriac, and with Arabic, sufficiently proves the identity in race of what are called the Semitic nations. There is no difficulty in assigning to each of the sons of Shem his proper situation. Elam founded the kingdom of Elymeis, Assur that of Assyria, and Aram the kingdom of Syria or Aramæa, a name still clearly preserved in that of Armenia. From Arphacsad were descended the Hebrews themselves, and the various tribes of Arabia; and this close affinity of origin was always manifest in the language and in the intimate correspondence of these two nations. Some of the names given by Moses to the children of Shem are still used in Arabia as local designations: thus there is still a district in that country called *Havilah*; and *Uzal*, the

name given to Sana by the sacred historian, is not yet quite obsolete.

The descendants of Ham constituted the most civilized and industrious nations of the Mosaic age. The sons of that patriarch were Cush, Mizraim, Phut, and Canaan. The name of Ham is identical with that of *Cham* or *Chamia*, by which Egypt has in all ages been called by its native inhabitants, and *Mizr* or *Mizraim* is the name by which the same country, or more properly the Delta, is known to Turks and Arabians. The land of *Phut* appears to signify Libya in general; and the name *Cush*, though sometimes used vaguely, is obviously applied to the southern and eastern parts of Arabia. The names of *Saba*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, and *Sheba*, children of Cush, long survived in the geography of Arabia.

The posterity of Canaan rivalled the children of Mizraim in the early splendour of arts and cultivation. Though the Canaanites, properly speaking, and the Phœnicians were separated from each other by Mount Carmel, yet as the same spirit of industry animated both, they may here, in a general sense, be considered as one people. The Phœnicians possessed the knowledge of the Egyptians, free from the superstitious reluctance of the latter to venture upon the sea. Their local position naturally engaged them in commercial enterprise: — "and the border of the Canaanites was from Sidon, as thou goest to Gerar unto Gaza." Their chief cities, Tyre and Sidon, had reached the highest degree of commercial opulence when the first dawn of social polity was only commencing in Greece. Damascus, one of the oldest cities in the world, remains as a monument of the first inhabitants. The great superiority of the people on that coast above the Hebrews in the time of Moses, is clearly shown in the language of holy writ. When Joshua and the other chiefs, who were sent by the prophet to observe and report on the land of Canaan, returned, they said, "We came unto the land whither thou sentest us, and surely it floweth with milk and

honey. Nevertheless, the people be strong that dwell in the land, and the cities are walled and very great." In fine, they conclude, "We be not able to go up against this people, for they are very great." While the Canaanites inhabited walled and populous cities, the Hebrews dwelt in tents like the brethren of Joseph, who declared to Pharaoh, "Thy servants are shepherds, both we and also our fathers."

The warlike children of Japhet, the Japetus of the Greeks, have far surpassed the other posterity of Noah in the extent of their possessions. All the Indo-Teutonic nations, stretching without interruption from the extremity of western Europe through the peninsula of India to the island of Ceylon, may be considered as derived from this common ancestor. The Turkish nation also, occupying the elevated countries of central Asia, boast the same descent. Their own traditions accord in this respect with the Mosaic history; and indeed the affinities of language, which are still evident among all the nations of the Japetian family, fully confirm the relation of the sacred writer. The meaning of Japhet's name in the Sanscrit language, *Yapáti*, or lord of the earth, bears a sense which is well adapted to the numbers and the eminence of his descendants.

The eldest of Japhet's sons was Gomer, who, Josephus tells us, was the father of the Celts. Magog, we must be contented to suppose, was the founder of some Scythian nation. In Madai we may recognize the ancestor of the Medes. The posterity of Javan and Tubal and Meshech and Tiras may be traced from Ararat, always called *Masis* by its inhabitants, through Phrygia into Europe. Tubal and Meshech left their names to the Tibareni and Moschi, Armenian tribes, whose early migrations appear to have extended into Mœsia. In like manner the Thracians may have owed their origin to Tiras.

Ashkenaz, the son of Gomer, is thought to be that Ascanius whose name so frequently occurs in the ancient topography of Phrygia, and from whom, probably, the

Euxine, at first the *Axine* sea, derived its appellation. In Togarmah we see the proper ancestor of the Armenian nations, and it is even asserted of the Turks.

Javan was the Ion of the Greeks, the father of the Ionians. In the names of his sons we find fresh proofs of the consistency of the Mosaic history. In Elishah we see the origin of Elis or Hellas. The name of Tarshish is supposed, with little foundation, to refer to Tarsus in Cilicia. Kittim means Cyprus, and Dodanim or Rodanim is understood to apply to the island Rhodes. — "By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands." It is impossible to read this ethnographical sketch of the sacred historian, who ascends to the first origin of mankind, without admiring its comprehensiveness and consistency.

It is impossible to fix with precision the eastern limit of Moses's geographical knowledge. "The dwellings of the sons of Joctan," he says, "were from *Mesha*, as thou goest unto *Sephar*, a mount of the East."[1] This *Sephar* may possibly be the first range of the snowy mountains of *Paropamisus*, called also *Sepyrrus* by the ancients. But that the accurate knowledge of Moses did not extend to the confines of India is evident from the gloss which he adds, "a mountain of the *East*," which is, in fact, the signification of the word. *Sephar* is applied in general to the East, while *Ophir*, on the other hand, means the West, or Africa.

The institutions of the Hebrews were calculated to discourage an intercourse with strangers. The brilliant commercial enterprises in which Solomon engaged were discontinued by his successors, and even the fleets of that prince were navigated by the servants of the king of Tyre. This restricted communication with foreign nations rendered it, of course, impossible to acquire any enlarged or correct knowledge of the earth; and we do not find in the prophetic writings any trace of geographical information much exceeding that which was possessed by Moses. Some, indeed, have imagined the *Ophir* of scripture to mean Peru; and the *Tarshish* from

which the fleets of Solomon returned every three years, "bringing gold, and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks," has given rise to innumerable learned disquisitions. Tarsus in Cilicia (which, by the way, was not a sea-port), as well as Tartessus in Spain, are out of the question; for the ships of Solomon were launched from Eziongeber in the Red Sea, and ivory, apes, and peacocks are obviously Indian produce. Many eminent scholars have supposed the word *Tarshish* to be a Phœnician epithet of the sea in general; but though this interpretation serves very well to explain the expression "ships of Tarshish," it only increases the difficulty of a *three years' voyage to Tarshish*. Others have imagined two places of the same name, one in the East and the other in the West. But the most ingenious of the conjectures offered to clear up these difficulties is that which explains the name *Tarshish* as an epithet derived from the Sanscrit language, in which *Tar-désa* signifies the silver country. The languages of India, owing to the great trade and civilization of the people who spoke them, are known to have contributed many terms to the Arabic and Hebrew tongues; and as the Indian legends make frequent mention of a *silver country* beyond the sea, it is not very improbable that the Arabians adopted from them this vague and wandering appellation. *Tarshish*, then, to the Phœnicians (who received the language as well as merchandize of the East through the Arabians) was an expression of extreme latitude, and applicable with equal justice to opposite quarters of the globe.

Towards the north the geographical knowledge of the Hebrews never extended beyond the Caucasus; and in the north-east it was confined within equally narrow limits. The Chaldæans, who appear to have descended from the further shores of the Caspian Sea, are described by the prophet Jeremiah as coming from the ends of the north and the sides of the earth. With Egypt and Arabia the early Hebrews were well acquainted; but towards the West their knowledge hardly reached as far as the shores of Greece.

The cosmological ideas scattered through the scriptures are few in number, and of extreme simplicity. In the prophetic writings many traces may be found of an opinion that heaven, or the "mount of the Lord," was in the North.* The earth was evidently considered to be a plain, surrounded, perhaps, by the ocean, which was again enclosed by the clouds of heaven. Such are the opinions expressed by Job, the sublimest of all poets. "He hath compassed the waters with bounds, until (in the places where) the day and night come to an end:" and again he says, "Whereupon are the foundations of the earth fastened? or, who laid the corner-stone thereof? or, who shut up the sea with doors (boundaries); when it brake forth, as if it had issued out of the womb; when I made the cloud the garment thereof?"† The general allusions which occur in scripture to the earth and its creation, are not more remarkable for the sublime language in which they are conveyed, than for their perfect freedom from fanciful and subtle speculations.

The Phœnicians, the greatest maritime people of antiquity, have, unfortunately, not transmitted to us any writings whatever. We know of their enterprises only from scripture, and from the scattered notices of Greek and Latin authors. We have seen that they were the pilots of Solomon's fleet: and, as often as Egyptian ships are mentioned by ancient authors, we are sure to find them manned and guided by Phœnicians. This people were, in fact, the merchants of the Egyptians, whose laws and religion were at all times unfavourable to maritime adventure: they were, in fact, the foreign merchants of Egypt in the flourishing days of the hundred-gated Thebes; and the astonishing monuments which remain to prove the ancient wealth and grandeur of that kingdom may render us less incredulous with respect to the naval proficiency of a kindred people. The survey of Egypt made by Joseph, the storing of corn in the several districts, to meet the exigencies of impending

* Isaiah, xiv. † Job, xxvi. xxxviii.

famine, and the general use of money in that country, all bespeak a degree of social order and economy, and a familiarity with the routine of commercial dealing, which is truly astonishing at so early an age. Seven hundred years later, at the siege of Troy, the Greeks were unacquainted with the use of money.

The Phœnicians participated in the civilization of the Egyptians: they profited by supplying that luxurious and wealthy nation with foreign commodities; and, uniting to the knowledge which flourished in Thebes and Memphis a disposition to naval enterprise, we may easily conceive that they soon attained a considerable proficiency in all the arts of navigation. The numerous colonies which they planted on the shores of the Euxine, the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic, beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, attest the extent of their early voyages.

This enterprising nation may in like manner have occasionally reached India from the Red Sea. Phœnicians piloted the ships of Solomon in their three years' voyages to Tarshish. The great length of time required for these voyages betrays the timid progress of early navigation, and may, perhaps, have prevented their frequent repetition; but the regular communication with India was certainly maintained through the Arabs, who, when they saw strange nations circumnavigating their peninsula, were not slow to learn the advantages of their intermediate position.

The Phœnician colonies, Utica, Carthage, and Gades, or Cadiz, were founded between the twelfth and eighth centuries before the Christian era; but the seas of the West were probably explored for ages before settlements were formed at such a distance from the parent state.

Thus we find that the Phœnicians had, at least a thousand years before the birth of Christ, explored the western ocean, and at the same time navigated the Euxine Sea and the Arabian Gulf. Their geographical knowledge must, therefore, have been extensive; yet the illiberal jealousy which induced them to conceal their discoveries has thrown a deep shade upon their fame. The arts,

refinement, and commercial wealth of the Phœnicians in remote ages can be now but imperfectly estimated by the records which remain of them. The pyramids and colossal ruins of Egypt visibly demonstrate the greatness of that kingdom to remote posterity: the commercial enterprise and maritime skill of the Phœnicians have left behind no such adequate or durable memorials. Vicissitudes in the arts and in the enlightenment of mankind often occurred in the ancient world, from the difficulty and expense of multiplying books; and it is interesting to observe in the present instance that the geographical knowledge of the Phœnicians in the fabulous times of Greece may probably have embraced as large a portion of the earth as that of the Romans in the flourishing age of Augustus.

CHAP. II.

THE GREEKS. — HOMERIC AGE.

THE FIRST NAVIGATORS PIRATES. — SLAVE TRADE IN ANTIQUITY — HOMER'S KNOWLEDGE OF GREECE. — OF THE SCYTHIANS. — OF EGYPT AND THE ÆTHIOPIANS. — THE SHIPS OF THE HOMERIC AGE. — THE MYTHIC REGIONS OF THE WEST. — VOYAGE OF ULYSSES. — THE CYCLOPS. — ISLES OF CIRCE AND OF ÆOLUS. — ENDS OF THE OCEAN AND LAND OF DARKNESS. — THE WANDERING ISLES — SCYLLA, CHARYBDIS, AND THE SIRENS. — SICULI AND SICANI. — TRINACRIA. — HOMER ACTUALLY IGNORANT OF THE WEST. — HESIOD. — KING LATINUS. — THE ERIDANUS. — ARGONAUTIC EXPEDITION. — ITS AUTHENTICITY — THE EUXINE KNOWN EARLY TO THE PELASGIANS. — THE GOLDEN FLEECE — RETURN OF JASON VARIOUSLY RELATED. — THE ORPHIC ACCOUNT. — IERNIS MENTIONED. — THE CIMMERIANS OF THE WEST. — EXPLANATION OF THE MYTHOLOGY. — ELYSIUM AND HAPPY ISLANDS OF THE WEST. — SUMMARY.

THE trade of the Phœnicians necessarily brought them soon into correspondence with the Greeks who were scattered over the islands and the shores of the Ægean.

Their manufactured merchandize, which awakened the admiration of a rude people, was bartered for the natural productions of the land, and, perhaps, more frequently for slaves. Thus the prophet Ezekiel mentions the blue and purple from the isles of Elisha; and at the same time he says, "Javan, Tubal, and Meshech were thy merchants: they traded the persons of men and vessels of brass in thy market." The nature of the motives which actuated the Greeks in their earliest naval enterprises is sufficiently manifest from the first paragraph of Herodotus, who ascribes the origin of the wars between the Greeks and barbarians to a series of piratical abductions. Io, daughter of the king of Argus, was carried away by the Phœnicians. Europa was then taken off from Tyre by the Cretans: Jason eloped with Medea; and when her father, the king of Colchis, demanded compensation, it was refused, says the historian, because the complaints of Inachus, the father of Io, had been neglected by her ravishers. Then followed reprisals and the rape of Helen.

War is the only art exercised by fierce and uncivilized nations, and captives are their only merchandize. The Phœnicians, no doubt, fomented the feuds by which their markets were supplied: the morality of their dealings sunk to the level of their iniquitous traffic. The love of gain has never been very scrupulous; and we may safely conclude, that the merchants of Sidon imposed upon the Greeks by the same fraudulent arts which Christian nations practised so many centuries later upon the simple inhabitants of the new world. Hence it is that Homer, who so often celebrates the excellence of Sidonian artists, reproaches the nation in a strain approaching to acrimony, with insatiable covetousness and base dishonesty: he paints them, indeed, as the enemies of the human race, "doing all manner of iniquity to men."

The knowledge of letters, however, which the Greeks received from the Phœnicians, will probably compensate, in the opinion of posterity, for all the injuries which

may have been committed in the incipient correspondence of the two nations. The Greeks possessed a lively curiosity, a boldness and force of intellect, well fitted to open all the recesses of unexplored nature. They were equal to other nations of antiquity in the vividness of their imaginations, and were much superior to them in the spirit of philosophical observation. Unlike the Phœnicians, who grudged the world the participation of their knowledge, the Greeks were as communicative as they were curious, and preferred fame to the profits of a sordid policy.

There was a splendour in the first dawn of Grecian literature which announced the glory of its meridian beams. Homer united all the learning of his time to all the vigour of poetic genius. There is little connected with the manners or enlightenment of his age which may not be learned from his writings; and he was the first, to use the weighty testimony of Strabo, who was well versed in geography. The task will be as agreeable as it is essential to our purpose, to collect from the pages of the venerable poet the extent of his acquaintance with the surface of the earth.

The ocean was regarded by Homer as a great river which visited in its course every portion of the earth. In the centre of the shield made by Vulcan for Achilles was described the habitable earth, and beyond that, along the margin of the disc, ran "the strength of the floods of ocean." Whether Homer believed that Greece was in the centre of the earth, is a particular of his cosmography which he has not disclosed to us; but it certainly was not in the centre of the portion which was known to him.

In the enumeration of the allied forces assembled before Troy, the poet names all the states of Greece with interesting minuteness. *Thebes*, *Athens*, *Corinth*, and *Lacedæmon* were already distinguished. He displays a partial knowledge of *Macedonia*, and a perfect acquaintance with the *Cyclades* and larger islands. The auxiliaries of the Trojans were *the Tribes of the Pelasgians;*

the *Mæonians*; the *Carians*, speaking a strange language; the *Lycians* and *Solymi*, to the south of these; then the *Arimi* or Aramæi, stretching from Cilicia into Syria; the *Phrygians* came from *Ascania*, an inland district. From the shores of the Black Sea there came to the aid of Priam the *Paphlagonians* who dwelt on the banks of the *Parthenius*, and the *Halizonians* "from *Alyba*, afar, where the earth produces silver." These last were the Chalybes inhabiting the mountains round Trebizond, the mineral riches of which are not yet exhausted. The *Sesamus*, *Cromna*, and *Cytorus* of Homer were afterwards included in the territory of *Amastris*, the modern Amasia; and the hills of *Cytoro*, crowned with superb forests, supplied with naval timber the dockyards of Sinope.

On the western side of the Black Sea Homer was acquainted with the *Thracians*, the *Mœsians*, and the "*Hippomolgi*, living on mares' milk, the justest of men, long-lived, and exempt from care." These were the inhabitants of the country afterwards possessed by the Sarmatians. They were evidently nomadic; and it is remarkable, that the reputation of virtue and justice which later writers generally gave the Scythians (as the wandering nations on the shores of the Euxine were long vaguely designated) were already ascribed to them by the oldest of the Greek poets. It might be supposed, indeed, from the hint of spotless innocence, that Homer here touched the verge of his knowledge; but as he is, perhaps, the most carefully minute of all poets, and has usually a reason for every thing he says, it is much more likely that there was something in the religious habits and doctrines of those Asiatic tribes which compelled the veneration of the Greeks.

The fame of Egypt offered the poet a fertile theme. He celebrates the wealth of Thebes and its hundred gates, from each of which it could send forth 200 armed men. In a spirit of simplicity he mentions the rankness and aromatic character of Egyptian vegetation; the skill of the people in the use of drugs; and the *nepenthes*, pro-

bably opium, by which they cured even the pains of grief. With the mention of Egypt he couples that of Libya and of the *Erembi*, the name of the Arabs in the East. "In Libya," says the poet, "no man feels want, neither the king nor the shepherd; sheep yean three times in the year, and the lambs have horns at their birth." These latter facts are correct, as well as the custom of the Africans, from which the *Lotophagi* or *lotus-eaters* obtained their designation. Though Homer did not know India, locally or by name, yet he seems to have been aware that there were black men to the east of that part of the earth with which he was acquainted. Thus, he says, Neptune visited the Æthiopians, "the farthest of men, who are divided in two, some under the rising and some under the setting sun." When Homer makes Menelaus visit, in the course of his voyage, the *Sidonians*, *Libyans* and *Erembi*, he appears to be ignorant that the Mediterranean and Red Seas are separated from each other by the Isthmus of Suez; neither was he acquainted with the seven mouths of the Nile. His ignorance on these points was admitted by his warmest admirers in ancient times.

Menelaus, while relating in the Odyssey the history of his voyages, boasts on several occasions of the wealth he accumulated by piratical depredations. Indeed, it is manifest that piracy was a common, perhaps an honourable, profession in those days. Naval warfare was by no means unknown to the Greeks, as appears by Homer's making mention of boarding pikes. Yet their vessels, such at least as were built by Ulysses at the island of Circe, were nothing more than large boats with one mast and sail, and with a small fore deck on which the cable was coiled: on or below this deck the chief of the crew took his rest when circumstances prevented his landing. These slight vessels of the Homeric age were painted red with *minium*, procured, most probably, from Sinope. Homer seems to have thought a voyage across the sea from Crete to Egypt a singularly bold adventure.

Though the gods of Homer and other early Grecian

poets frequently resorted to Æthiopia to celebrate their festivities, yet neither the South nor the East can be looked upon as the region of fable in the primitive geography of the Greeks. When we turn to the West and North, we find a much larger share of mythic story mingling itself with the slender materials of certain information. The straits which separate Italy and Sicily are the portals which conduct Homer to the regions of fable; all beyond them is marvellous, and it is in this quarter alone that the pictures of the poet lose the colour of reality. Of Sicily he had some faint knowledge; the names of the *Sicani* and *Siculi* had reached him, and the account of the Cyclops is too true a picture of savage life to allow us to suppose it a mere sketch of fancy. The picture of men who, "relying on the gods for subsistence, neither sow nor reap; who live in caves on the tops of mountains, without laws or a chief, and not *caring for one another*; and who are ignorant of the use of ships, by which the luxuries of life are diffused;" such a picture, it is evident, is drawn with fidelity from the rudest condition of savage life.

From Sicily Ulysses is conducted by the poet to the isles of Æolus, from whom the hero obtains a bag containing the winds: with this present he sets sail, and is wafted gently homewards. On the tenth day Ithaca is already in sight, when, overcome with fatigue, he unluckily falls asleep, and his companions cut the bag, supposing it to be filled with treasures. Instantly the winds rush forth, and a hurricane arises, which drives the ship back to the isle of Æolus. The next place which Ulysses reaches is the country of the *Læstrygons*, a race of cannibals; and it is historically important to observe, that Homer places these fairly in the region of the miraculous. He next arrives at *Ææa*, the island of Circe, from which he appears to lose sight altogether of the land of certainty. The hero, receiving the instructions of Circe, crosses the ocean to the shores of Proserpine, to the place where the Acheron, Periphlegethon, and other tributary rivers flow into the Styx. Sailing the whole day, he

comes at last to the ends of the ocean, where the Cimmersians dwell, wrapped in profound gloom; for they see neither the rising nor the setting sun, but the veil of night is constantly spread above them. Having here visited the infernal regions, he re-embarks, quits the ocean, and reaches the isle of Circe in the smooth sea at the first appearance of Aurora. On his voyage homeward afterwards he passes the *Planctæ*, or wandering rocks, escapes the Sirens, with the dangers of *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, and thus returns once more within the circle of probability.

It is in vain that commentators and scholiasts have endeavoured to give precision to Homer's geography of the West. In vain they exhaust their learning to prove that Ulysses did not really sail into the Atlantic; yet the poet expressly says that he reached even the uttermost bounds of the ocean. But what business have chart and compass in the ocean of the early Grecian poets? It is true that Ulysses made but one day's sail from the isle of Circe; but then it must be observed, that in that island were the choirs of Aurora and the rising of the sun, so that the ends of the ocean could not be far off; besides, it is unreasonable to limit the speed of the mariner who profited from the counsels of a goddess, and who could occasionally freight his ship with the winds of Æolus. Some learned scholars have fixed on the promontory of Circæi, once nearly insulated by the Pontine marshes, as the island of the nymph; and at a suitable distance they have found the Styx and descent of Avernus. They thus inadvertently bring Cimmeria and its perpetual darkness into the smiling clime of Italy. The same system finds in Strongyle the once wandering rocks, and in Lipari the domain of Eolus. But in fact the old bard's geographical information beyond the nearest shores of Italy is purely *Hesperian*; that is to say, it is wholly derived from myths and traditions, without the slightest reference to distance or local details. Homer had heard of the ocean and Cimmeria in the west, but he knew not how far off they were. He

never purposely alloys the truth, or postpones it to fiction; but, on the other hand, he relates mythical traditions as readily as facts; and we shall find, as we proceed, that the bulk of these traditions always pointed to the Western Ocean.

When the stream of mankind was flowing constantly towards the West, it is no wonder that the weak reflux of positive information from that quarter should exhibit only the impulses of hope and superstition. Greece was nearly on the western verge of the world, as it was known to Homer, and it was natural for him to give wing to his imagination as he turned towards the dim prospects which spread beyond; but that his fables, far from being arbitrary, were founded on very ancient and widely-diffused myths, will clearly appear when we come to treat of the geography of the Hindoos.

Among the strange nations with which Ulysses became acquainted in his wanderings, the *Phæacians* deserve a moment's attention. It appears that they were much more refined and industrious than the Greeks; that they were better informed in the arts, more skilful navigators, and more addicted to commerce. They inhabited the island of *Scheria*, supposed to be the same as Corcyra, having been forced to leave their former abode in *Hyperea*, from the troublesome neighbourhood of the Cyclops. This mention of a retrograde movement from west to east, and of a people more cultivated than the Greeks, is extremely remarkable at so early an age. Homer names likewise the *Siculi* and *Sicani*, historic names; but yet his island *Trinacria* is rather mythic than real; he places in it, with mythical propriety, the flocks and herds of the sun. It is remarkable, too, that he calls it *Thrinakia*, from which it is manifest that the word was strange to him, and not of Greek derivation. Indeed, it is more probable that Sicily had its name of *Trinacria*, or *three-peaked*, from superstition, than from any acquaintance with its figure, which could hardly be known in the infancy of navigation.

Homer's knowledge, it is evident, hardly extended westward beyond Greece; but Hesiod, who lived perhaps a century later (750 B. C.), surprises us by his mention of "King *Latinus*, who ruled over all the *Tyrseni*." His acquaintance with the west, indeed, appears to have reached beyond Italy; for, in conjunction with the *Scythians* and *Æthiopians*, he mentions the *Lygurians*, who at that time probably occupied the whole length of coast from Spain to the Alps. Hesiod also names the *Ister*, or Danube, the *Phasis*, and the *Eridanus*, a name, however, which was so vaguely employed by the early Greek writers, that it would be hazardous to suppose it in this instance applied to the river Po. The *Nile*, known to Homer as the *Ægyptus*, received from Hesiod its proper designation, along with its seven mouths.

Ulysses never boasts of being the first who navigated the Western Ocean; but he was the first who escaped the dangers of the *Planctæ*, with the exception of Jason, to whom propitious Juno kindly lent her assistance to guide the Argo through the rocks. This mention of the chief Argonaut by the father of Grecian poetry is calculated to awaken regret at the imperfect accounts which remain of an expedition so important in the history of primitive geography. Many able scholars, indeed, have assented to the opinion of Gesner, that the poem of the Argonauts which bears the name of Orpheus is at least as ancient as the time of Homer; but a preponderating weight of internal evidence and of authority assigns it to a much later age. It appears, however, to have been really compiled from old current traditions, and may, on that account, be employed to illustrate the primitive geography of the Greeks.

Jason and the Argonautic Expedition.

As to the reality of the Argonautic expedition there cannot be any reasonable doubt. Like all other events

of remote antiquity, it comes to us mixed with much that is fabulous; but yet the enterprise which forms the basis of the story has nothing in it of an improbable character. Ancient writers unanimously state, that Jason built a ship of unusual size; manned a fleet with the bravest warriors of Greece; and directed his course to Colchis in the Euxine Sea. The date usually assigned to this expedition is the year 1263 before the Christian era. Traditions remain which prove that Jason was not the first Greek who attempted this navigation. Sinope is supposed to have been founded by some of the followers of that Apis or Epaphus who migrated from Argos into Egypt in the year 1866 B. C. Phryxus and Helle, whose story is almost lost in fable, preceded Jason by perhaps a century. *Cytorus*, mentioned by Homer, was founded by the son of Phryxus; and a temple built by him at *Athenæ*, to the east of Trebizond, is said by Pausanias to have served as a model to the Dioscuri, for that which they founded on their return home. The tradition of Jason's expedition was preserved in Colchis and Armenia, where he was said to have founded cities; nay, he was even thought to have penetrated into Media. The river *Parthenia* flowing into the Euxine, and the *Halizones* who inhabited the shores of that sea, suggest, at once, Bœotia and Samos, where the same names occur. As a general proof, however, of the early acquaintance of the Greeks with the Euxine, it may be sufficient to observe that the Grecian colonies in that sea, which acquired historical importance, preceded, by more than two centuries, those of Sicily and the West.

The local traditions regarding Jason, and the monuments of his progress along the shores of the Euxine, were too numerous and positive in antiquity to allow of any doubts as to the existence of that hero. All authors conduct him to the city of Æetes. That he should carry off the king's daughter is consistent with the manners of the age; that the proposed object of the enterprise should, at this distance of time, be, or

appear to be, a fable, is not less to be expected. A due mixture of fable, in a case like this, is a proof of genuine antiquity; yet, as many fables in antiquity unquestionably arose from the ambiguities of language, some attention is due to the ingenious conjecture which supposes that the story of the golden fleece had its origin in a miscomprehension or a play of words: the word which signifies wealth or a treasure in the Phœnician language (*malon*), resembling that which, in Greek, means a fleece (*mallon*). Phœnicians probably had a share in the expedition; and the pilot Ancæus is said to have been of that nation.

Of the return of Jason there existed no local traditions or monuments of a permanent nature, and all the accounts remaining to us of his expedition were written many centuries later than the achievements to which they refer. Hence it is that the hero of the Argonauts, like the Ulysses of Homer, is made to explore all the wonders of the poetic world; and the story of his wanderings becomes the vehicle by which the relater pours abroad the full measure of his geographic knowledge.

The Euxine Sea, as it appears from Mimnermus, was anciently thought to be the ocean; its eastern and northern shores were evidently unknown to Homer. Those who first celebrated the adventures of Jason, therefore, naturally extended his wanderings into a quarter where the ignorance of the age opposed no obstacles to fiction, and succeeding ages were taught to believe that the Argonauts returned to Greece, not by the Hellespont, but through the ocean. As the increase of geographical knowledge, however, gradually disclosed the impossibility of such a voyage, various fictions were added in detail to support the grand outlines of his story. The incongruities which, in the course of centuries, were thus heaped together by poetic ingenuity do not in the least affect the authenticity of the Argonautic expedition.

The author of the Orphic Argonautics appears to have

had much vague information respecting the nations round the Euxine Sea. In conducting his hero northwards from Colchis, he mentions the *Tauri*, *Lælii*, *Nomads*, and the *Caspian nation*; in the Palus Mæotis he finds, besides the *bowed Scythians*, the *Mæotians*, *Sauromatians*, *Getes*, *Gymni*, and the *Arimaspes*, a people with the deformity of Cyclops, but rich in flocks. The fabulous navigation commences with propriety at the remotest extremity of this inland sea, and at the term of the writer's positive knowledge. The Argonauts, having crossed the Palus Mæotis, enter a great gulf leading into the *Cronian* Ocean. They row unceasingly for nine days and nights, and reach on the tenth the *Cronian* Sea beyond the *Riphæan* mountains. Being here in danger, they disembark, by the advice of Ancæus, and haul the ship along the shore with a rope. Continuing the voyage for six days, they reach the *Macrobians* (so named from their longevity), the *People of Dreams*, and afterwards the *Cimmerians*. Our adventurers next approach the *Acherontian* shores, *Hermione*, and the dwellings of the justest men, near which is the approach to the infernal regions. Leaving these, they embark on the Western Ocean with the breeze of Zephyr; but before they proceed far, the ship Argo utters a warning speech, and foretels the punishment of their crimes. With difficulty they pass the *Iernis* or the *Iernides* (for the poet at one time employs the singular and at another the plural number), and a storm arises which drives them for eleven days through the wide ocean quite ignorant of their course. At length Ancæus descries the *Isle of Ceres*, which is known by its tall fir trees; but as it proves inaccessible, he is obliged to steer for the *Isle of Circe*, which is reached in three days. Thence the Argonauts arrive at the shores of Tartessus and the pillars of Hercules, cross the Sardonian and Tuscan Seas, and are opportunely rescued from the flames of Ætna by the aid of Thetis.

The mention which occurs in this poem of the *Caspian* nation, of the *Getes* and of *Iernis* (Hibernia),

shows a considerable store of vague information; and even the idea, of sailing round Europe from the Euxine, by the Cronian Sea and the land of the Cimmerians, is of great importance in a historic survey of the progress of geographical discovery. But the Orphæan Argonautics, as they are called, are as little distinguished by accuracy as by poetic beauties. The geographical errors of the ancient poets, however, who gleaned their knowledge chiefly from oral traditions, cause us no surprise, but it is truly astonishing to see how modern critics overlook the rights of ignorance and of the poetic character, and in vain attempt to force their authors into literal precision. The same desire to fill up the vacancies of knowledge, and to exhibit every thing complete, which constantly led astray the writers of antiquity, still actuates the scholars who interpret them, to reject every expression as spurious which cannot be forced into a correspondence with the knowledge of the present day. The author of the Argonautics makes the *Tanais* and the *Phasis* branches of the *Araxes*; an error of such magnitude as to show that he had no actual knowledge of the regions he describes. Yet these names are, originally, all general terms meaning *a river*, and may have often changed their application. Homer places the Cimmerians at the end of the ocean; in the Argonautics they are situated between the Western Ocean and the Cronian Sea. The old bard mentions in general terms the gloom of the Cimmerian land, which never enjoys the beams of day; the poet of the Argonauts ventures to explain the cause of this privation, and thus gives an opportunity to learned scholars to examine where the Cimmeria of antiquity was actually situated; but how is it possible to determine the position of a country which was shaded from the sun by Calpe and the Riphæan Mountains on the east, by Phlegra on the south, and by the Alps on the west? Such gross errors with regard to distances and positions serve only to show how little the knowledge of the author extended beyond an acquaintance with names alone.

But perhaps it may be asked, who were the *Cimmerians*? to this the answer must be, that they were the inhabitants of *Cimmeria*; for in truth they make no figure in the poets; they are merely the implied possessors of *Cimmeria*, the land of darkness, which is the proper subject of the myth. But the early disappearance of this fabulous land and of its melancholy occupants from Grecian poetry, immediately suggests that its existence was not vouched by the national mythology. And indeed the Phœnician language explains at once the origin of the legend. The word *cimrire*, (כמרירי) signifying deep darkness, occurs in Job, iii. 5. "Let darkness and the shadow of death stain it; let a cloud dwell upon it; let *the blackness of the day* terrify it." But why, it may again be asked, did the Phœnicians suppose a land of darkness in the west? This is a question which admits only of a conjectural solution. They may have confounded legends by the ambiguity of language; they may have learned from the Indians with whom they traded that the Goddess *Caumári* presides over the west; or they may have been informed from the same source, that the west is the country of the moon, in Arabic *Camar*. But perhaps the mythical *Cimmeria* had an origin nearer home; in Job, xxxviii. 9. we find that *a thick darkness* was the swaddling band of the ocean. Whatever was the origin of this belief, it is certain, that the Arabs retained it in the middle ages; and the navigators of that nation, who ventured far into the Atlantic, were generally forced back again, as they reported, by the deep darkness which lowered over the West.*

Some writers of eminence, finding the western Cimmerians fabulous, have ventured to consider their namesakes on the Euxine as members of the same spurious family; but these last belong to authentic history: they left monuments behind them, and are doubly precious in the eyes of the enquirer, from the combined circumstances of their antiquity and their local situation.†

* Ibn el Vardi, Notices et Extraits des MSS de la Bibliothèque du Roi, II.

† The *Acheron*, or river that bounds the infernal regions, and the *Elysium*, or abode of gladness, both connected in mythology with the *Cimme-*

It was not without reasón that the author of the Orphic Argonautics placed a city cálled *Hermione* near the Acherontian shores. The obscurity of this passage is cleared up on reflecting that at Hermione in Argolis was a temple dedicated to the triple Hecate, or, as it was vulgarly understood, to Juno, Proserpine, and Ceres. Near this temple there was also a fabled descent to Hades.

As the voyage of Jason from Colchis to the ocean was always handed down as an essential part of his history, it is no wonder that many should have supposed him to have ascended the Tanais, the sources of which were still unknown. Pindar dares even to transport the Argonauts to the Erythræan or Southern Ocean; and as he had no knowledge, probably, of the Arabian Gulf, he lets them reach the Mediterranean by dragging their vessel for twelve days over the Libyan continent. Hecatæus thought to improve on this idea, when he supposed that Jason sailed through the Phasis into the ocean, and from the ocean into the Nile, thus betraying within what narrow limits his knowledge was bounded on the east. The idea, too, which was entertained of a connection existing between the sources of rivers and the ocean shows how little the first principles of physical geography had hitherto engaged the attention of philosophers. In a later age, when the Athenian and Milesian colonies in the Euxine had completely explored its shores, and found no egress to the ocean, the poets who sung the adventures of Jason were obliged to conduct their hero up the Danube and Save, and overland into the Adriatic; and industriously laboured to embellish and confound the traditions of antiquity.

The voyage of a single day, in which Ulysses reached the ends of the ocean; the intricate circumnavigation of Europe performed by Jason in less than a month, though driven from his course by violent tempests; the ma-

ria, or land of darkness, were also both derived from the same Phœnician source; *Acharon* in Hebrew signifying the *last dwelling* or *end*, and *Alizim*, the *glad* or happy. See Bochart. These foreign additions to the Pelasgian mythology never made a deep impression on the Greeks; they were soon resigned wholly to the poets.

nœuvre of the Argonauts in dragging their ship along the shore with a rope, to avoid the perils of the deep; and Pindar's account of their crossing the continent of Libya in twelve days, all combine to illustrate the inadequate ideas entertained by the early Greeks of the magnitude of the earth's surface and of the ocean.

The accurate geographical knowledge of the Greeks, in Homer's time and the ages immediately succeeding, may, without much injustice, be stated as not extending far beyond Greece, Egypt, Asia Minor, and the islands. Beyond these limits all objects appear in the prismatic hues of wonder and enchantment; we find nothing but monsters, nations of dreams, and the abodes of bliss. These delusive forms were chiefly gathered in the western or rather north-western quarter of the hemisphere. All the early writers in Greece believed in the existence of certain regions situated in the West beyond the bounds of their actual knowledge, and, as it appears, of too fugitive a nature to be ever fixed within the circle of authentic geography. Homer describes at the extremity of the Ocean the Elysian plain, "where, under a serene sky, the favourites of Jove, exempt from the common lot of mortals, enjoy eternal felicity." Hesiod, in like manner, sets the Happy Isles, the abode of departed heroes, beyond the deep ocean. The Hesperia of the Greeks continually fled before them as their knowledge advanced, and they saw the terrestrial paradise still disappearing in the West.

CHAP. III.

GREEKS CONTINUED. — HISTORIC AGE.

SYSTEMS OF EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHERS. — HERODOTUS. — HIS LITERARY ARDOUR AND SUCCESS. — HIS TRAVELS. — DESCRIBES THE SCYTHIANS. — RECEIVED INTELLIGENCE RESPECTING THE ARIMASPS AND GRIFFONS. — IN VAIN SOUGHT THE HYPERBOREANS. — EFFECT OF CLIMATE ON THE GROWTH OF HORNS. — EXTENT OF THE KNOWLEDGE HE ACQUIRED FROM THE SCYTHIANS. — THE CIMMERIANS OF THE BOSPHORUS. — THEIR ORIGIN CONJECTURED. — THE CASPIAN SEA. — HERODOTUS ACQUAINTED WITH THE BACTRIANS, AND WITH INDIA. — EASTERN ÆTHIOPIANS. — THE GREAT ANTS OF INDIA WHICH GUARD THE GOLD. — EGYPT. — THE AUTOMOLES OR EXILES. — ROUTE UP THE NILE, AND TO BORNOU. — JOURNEY OF THE NASAMONES TO THE NIGER. — ALLEGED CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF AFRICA UNDER KING NICHOS. — VOYAGE OF SATASPES. — HERODOTUS IGNORANT OF THE WEST. — THE RIVER ERIDANUS AND THE RIPHÆAN MOUNTAINS. — COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISE OF THE GREEKS. — SUMMARY.

While the poets of Greece perpetuated the memory of those happy regions of the West where innocence and contentment were supposed still to exist unalloyed, it was the occupation of Grecian philosophers to devise cosmological systems equally remote from truth and reality, and not unfrequently drawn, perhaps, from the same ample stores of Indian mythology. Brilliant fictions and daring hypotheses are, perhaps, the natural precursors of successful investigation: they serve at least to awaken curiosity; and where the freedom of the human mind is not fettered by the arts of an interested priesthood, even the fancies and extravagancies of active intellect make some progress towards the discovery of truth.

Thales (600 B. C.) taught the sphericity of the earth; but Anaximander, his disciple, compared it to a cylinder; Leucippus gave it the shape of a drum; others preferred the cubic form; and some, following Xeno-

phanes and Anaximenes, believed it to be a high mountain, the base of which has an infinite extension, while the stars float round its summit. Heraclides, again differing from the others, taught that the earth has the figure of a ship. These doctrines are all but repetitions of those taught by the different Indian sects, who assign to the earth the figure, or rather figures, of Mount *Meru*, and that of the mysterious ship *Arghe*. The Greeks may be excused for believing absurdities taught with so much solemnity, and surrounded with such an apparatus of learning. Intellectual natures are always prone to believe, from the love they bear to knowledge; but when once stored with ideas, they are sure to exercise an independent judgment. Anaximander is said also to have been the first to draw a map of the world. The maps of Sesostris, and those which the Colchians, instructed by that conqueror, are said to have inscribed on stone pillars, may safely be regarded as fabulous.

While science was thus engaged in fixing the knowledge of the earth, which had been chiefly collected by commercial voyages, there appeared in Greece one of those extraordinary men who, though themselves called forth, perhaps, by the spirit of the age in which they live, seem to be self-created agents of a new order of things. Herodotus read his books, which were named from the Muses, before the senate at Athens, in the year 445 B. C.; and the volumes of the *Father of History* may even at the present day be read with profit and delight. He cannot be too much admired, whether we consider the zeal with which he sought for information, the success which attended his exertions, or the elegance with which he knew how to impart what he had acquired.

As our knowledge of the globe has increased, the statements of Herodotus have been more and more confirmed; the wonderful stories which he relates from hearsay have become so many proofs of his veracity; and if he occasionally betrays a credulity which cannot be justified, it must certainly be excused by those who

consider what a value attached even to fictions in the first days of authentic history.

Herodotus was a native of Halicarnassus, a commercial little city in Caria. He appears to have been of a distinguished family, and probably imbibed the love of learning from his uncle Panyasis, a celebrated epic poet, whom the critics of antiquity ranked next to Homer. His rank, and perhaps some commercial engagements, procured him facility of intercourse with the various nations which he visited in his travels. These extended to every quarter of the then known world. Herodotus penetrated in the West as far as *Pæonia*, the modern Servia; he visited the Greek colonies in the Euxine, and even travelled over a considerable portion of Southern Russia: in the East his journeys reached as far as Babylon and Susa: Tyre also detained him for a while; but Egypt, then the seat of arts and learning, was a chief object of his attention; and the singularly complete description which he has transmitted of that country proves that he resided in it for a longer period. The Greek colonies of Cyrene were also visited by him; and the vivid pictures which he has drawn of the plains of Thessaly and of the pass of Thermopylæ prove that he had examined in detail the peninsula of Greece. Herodotus first read his histories at the Olympic games, where he received the unbounded applauses of his nation. Twelve years later he read them again (probably enlarged and amended) before the senate at Athens. The gratitude of the Athenians to the father of history was not confined to applauses alone; they even voted him a gift of ten talents. Yet he did not fix his residence in the city of the Muses, but preferred accompanying the Athenian colony which settled a few years afterwards at Thurium, near Sybaris, in the south of Italy; and there he is supposed to have ended his days, at a very advanced age.

Herodotus made great accessions to the knowledge of Eastern Europe. The *Ister* (Danube) rises, he says, in the country of the Celts, near a place called *Pyrene;* six rivers flow into it from the North, and ten from the

South. Among these tributaries may be distinguished the Theiss, flowing through the great plain of Hungary. The ancients appear to have long considered the Save as the chief branch of the Danube; and the *Pyrene*, near which Herodotus says this river rises, is a general Celtic name for high mountains, still preserved, with a slight modification, in the *Brenner* Alps, among which the Save has its sources. The Scythians, spread over the country near the Tanais or Don, were attentively surveyed by the inquisitive Grecian. He distinguishes three great hordes: viz. the Royal Scythians, who dwelt on the banks of the Tanais; the Nomadic or wandering Scythians, who spread their tents in the great steppes to the north of the Crimea; and the agricultural Scythians, whose possessions extended towards the fertile banks of the Bog and Dnieper. The *Scythians*, he tells us, originally dwelt on the eastern side of the Caspian Sea. In their migration westward they crossed the great river *Araxes*; and arriving in the neighbourhood of the Palus Mæotis, they expelled the *Cimmerians* from their possessions in that country. This event took place, according to Scythian tradition, exactly one thousand years before the time of Darius, or fifteen centuries before the Christian era.

The country beyond the Ister, a vast and boundless space, was inhabited, as far as he could learn, by the *Sigynæ*, who reached on the other side to the Veneti, on the Adriatic. The horses of that people were very small, and long haired. They were unable to carry men, but when yoked to carriages were remarkably swift. This answers the description of the Swedish ponies, which are still found wild in the woods of Gothland. The islands in the Gulf of Venice have also preserved the same breed. The name of the *Sigynæ* was used by their neighbours as equivalent to merchant.

The *Getæ* are described by Herodotus as the bravest and most upright of the Thracians. "They pretend," he says, "to immortality: whenever any one dies, they believe him to be received into the presence of their god

Zamolxis. Each man has several wives, who, when he dies, are emulous to sacrifice themselves on the tomb of their husband." To the north-east of the Scythians were the *Argippæi*, who shaved their heads. They passed their lives under trees, never took up arms, and being thought sacred characters, suffered no molestation; vegetables and milk, with a beverage called aschy, or asky, were their only nourishment. Here we have a picture of the Indian faquir. To the east of the *Argippæi* dwelt the *Issedones*, among whom the women enjoyed more than ordinary consideration. From this people Aristæus the poet had received some intelligence respecting the *Arimasps* and *Griffons*, whom Herodotus anxiously wished to see. He learned that the latter possessed golden treasures, of which it was the occupation of the former to despoil them. The *Hyperboreans* also seemed to fly continually before the friendly enquiries of our traveller, who was at last informed that they dwelt to the north of the *Argippæi*, and that their possessions extended to the sea. Among the nations dwelling to the north of the Scythians were the *Androphagi*, and the *Melanchlæni* or *black-mantled*, of whom the latter alone were cannibals. A people, called by Herodotus *Jyrcæ*, and situated to the east of the Tanais, have probably left their name to the river *Yrgis*.

The Scythians did not appear to the discriminating Greek as barbarians; on the contrary, he commends them as an upright and civilised nation, though, as he characteristically observes, "there are none among them of eminent learning or genius." It is not surprising that when Herodotus reached the bounds of authentic information in his enquiries after the *Hyperboreans*, he should positively affirm, "that in the north of Europe there are many wonderful things, and a prodigious quantity of gold." He had heard of the long winters' nights of the North, but could not believe that the people who lived beyond the *Massagetæ* slept six months in the year. The cold of winter, he says, was so severe in the country north of the Euxine, that the Scythians

could cross the Cimmerian Bosphorus with their loaded waggons to the country of the *Indians*. By these he means the people called by Strabo *Sindi*, and who formerly occupied the plains at the mouth of the Cuban. Having learned from Homer that lambs in Libya have horns at their birth, and seeing that sheep in Scythia remained hornless all their lives, he concluded that a warm climate is especially favourable to the growth of horns. This was the error of a too narrow experience; had he seen the four and six-horned sheep of the Baltic, he would have immediately discarded his frail theory. The observation, however, that horses are much better able to endure the rigours of a northern climate than asses, was just and valuable.

It is impossible to ascertain, with perfect precision, the regions occupied by the various nations which Herodotus enumerates; and the geographers, who have undertaken to expound him, have taken such liberties with the text, that their deductions, however ingenious, can seldom be relied on. In a primitive state of society, nations are usually divided into many different tribes, so that a geographical nomenclature, obtained from a Nomadic people, seldom reaches to a great distance. Intercourse, or mutual acquaintance, rarely exists among those simple communities, where there is not some original affinity of race and language. How then is it possible to credit the opinion, that the *Issedones*, with whom terminates the knowledge of Herodotus towards the East, were the inhabitants of Chinese Tartary? How much more probable is it that they were the *Asi*, or *Asiani* (perhaps *Asi-tani*), who descended, a few centuries later, from the northern valleys of the Belurtag, to destroy the Greek kingdom of Bactria, and who are manifestly the *Issedones* of Ptolemy. The civilisation of the *Asi*, and their respectful demeanour towards females, is remarked by the early Chinese historians, in language similar to that employed by Herodotus when he speaks of the *Issedones*. The remnant of the great nation of the *Asi*, at present inhabiting the Caucasus, are

still called by the Russians *Ossetinzi*. It is not so surprising that the Scythians, themselves wanderers from the plains of Inner Asia, should have maintained a connection with a nation belonging to the same great family of mankind.

But it may be asked, who were the Scythians? Can the Scythian words preserved by Herodotus, *arimasp*, one-eyed, and *oiarpata*, a man-killer, or Amazon, be now explained from any known language? * The positive testimony of Herodotus, however, that the Scythians were originally connected with the *Sauromates*, is quite sufficient to overbalance the weight of this objection, and to prove that they belonged to the Indo-Teutonic race.

But the Cimmerians of the Bosphorus, that ancient people, some monuments of whom were still visible in the time of Herodotus, and who, unlike the Cimmerians of the West, gave their name to the country, instead of taking one from it; how are their race and derivation to be discovered? In order to investigate this point, on principles drawn from the general experience of history and the philosophy of language, it will be necessary to commence by asking, in what tongue does the name of the Cimmerians signify a man? for a great majority of the primitive national designations known in history have had originally the simple meaning of *men* or *people*.† Now it appears that in the Georgian language *kmari* signifies a *man*; and that word hardly differs in sound from the Greek word *kimmerioi*. Hence it might be concluded that the Cimmerians were a branch of the Georgian nation, who, like other Caucasian tribes, advanced to the Tanais, and were driven back again. The

* The learned are disposed to decide this question in the negative, but it would be disingenuous in me not to confess, that I feel inclined to maintain the affirmative. The Scythian word *arimasp*, formed from *arima*, one (or single rather, for it is evidently compound) and *spu*, an eye, may be translated into Greek by *eremops*. The Greek *eremos*, which passed from the sense of *single* to that of *solitary* and *wretched* (like one, alone, lone), is represented in the last signification by the German *arm* (Wachter's gloss.) The Scythian *spu* may be the root of the word *spy*. *Oiorpata*, an Amazon, is compounded of *oiar*, Scyth. a man, *eer*, Hung., *vir*, Lat. *air*, Armen., and *pata*, Scyth. to kill, *batten*, Goth. (whence *battalium*), *battuo*, Lat. *sphatto*, Gr.

† For examples, see Adelung's "Alteste Gesch. der Deutchen."

Thracian goddess *Cimmeris** might be supposed to be the tutelar deity of the nation; but these conjectures must not be implicitly adopted. The tribes of the *Comari* or *Comani* (for these names are constantly confounded) held a distinguished place among the restless warrior tribes of the Indian Caucasus; they also were called *Sacæ*, and might have preceded the Getic Scythians of Herodotus in their course to the Tanais, as a foremost wave of the same great tide. The *Caumâra* and *Caumâri*, the young *man* and *maiden*, or Mars and Bellona of the Hindoo pantheon, have found their way into the languages and superstitions of many nations; and conspicuous names of this sort, when adopted as national designations, are apt to suggest a proximate connection where it never really existed. But in order to estimate fairly the merits of the first conjecture, it must be remembered that the Cimmerians, when driven by the Scythians from their possessions on the Bosphorus, instead of retiring into Europe, crossed the Euxine into Pontus, whence they afterwards made some formidable irruptions into the neighbouring states; that the worship of *Comana* (a variation of *Comara*), a Bellona, surrounded by six thousand priests, appears to have had its origin in Pontus; and, finally, that the Georgian countries have been always called *Comania* by the orientals.

Herodotus obtained information of a very correct nature respecting the Caspian Sea: "The sea," he observes, "which the Greeks navigate (the Mediterranean); and that beyond the Pillars of Hercules, which is called the Atlantic; and the Erythræan, are all supposed to be but parts of the same ocean; but the Caspian is itself a distinct sea: its length is such that a vessel may be rowed from one end to the other in fifteen days; and in the broadest part the passage may be made in eight." These measures are believed to be perfectly exact. The geographers of a later age, and Strabo among the number, while they drew their maps of the world in conformity with arbitrary hypotheses, rejected the authority of Herodotus, and made the Cas-

* Hesychius.

pian communicate with the northern ocean by a long channel half a mile wide: this fanciful arrangement was again rejected by Ptolemy, who was constrained, however, by his system to neglect the measures of Herodotus; and it was not till the eighteenth century that the Caspian Sea resumed in our maps the oblong form which was accurately given to it by the father of history.

In Asia, the knowledge of Herodotus reached but a little way, although it extended far beyond that of his countrymen. The country between the Erythræan, or southern sea, and the Euxine, was divided between four nations, viz. the *Persians*, *Medes*, *Sapirs*, (*Serpars*, whose name remains to *Shirvan*,) and *Colchians*. "The country beyond these is bounded," he says, "on the east by the Erythræan, and on the north by the Caspian Sea and the Araxes, which flows towards the east. Asia is inhabited as far as India: but farther to the east there is nothing but desert, and nobody is acquainted with it." The peninsulas of Asia Minor and Arabia he makes much too narrow; an error in which he was followed by Pliny, who compares the peninsula of Arabia to that of Italy. Among the tributaries of the Persian empire, Herodotus enumerates the *Parthians*, *Chorasmians*, the *Utii* (Uzes?), and *Sogdians*: he also mentions the *Bactrians*, the farthest limit of his knowledge in that quarter, and the *Massagetæ* to the east of the Caspian, who devoured their parents worn out with age and infirmity.

India was but a recent discovery in the time of Herodotus; it is no wonder, therefore, that his knowledge of it should be extremely limited: indeed, he knew nothing of that country beyond the river Indus. "The greater part of Asia," he tells us, "was discovered by Darius. That prince wishing to know into what part of the sea the river Indus falls (the only river besides the Nile in which crocodiles are found), sent intelligent men to examine its course. They descended the river towards the east, and afterwards, turning to the west, arrived in two years and a half at the same port from which the Phœnicians embarked, who circumnavigated Libya by

order of the king of Egypt." *When Herodotus speaks* of the Indus flowing towards the east, it is evident that his knowledge of that river did not extend beyond the borders of Cashmeer; but respecting the Indians he collected many interesting particulars. The Æthiopians, he informs us, served with the Indians in the Persian armies: the former (by whom are meant the dark races of the Meckran, as distinguished from the genuine Hindoo) differed from the Æthiopians of Africa by the smoothness of their hair. This distinction of eastern and western Æthiopians, of which some trace is to be found in Homer, was continued till comparatively recent times. Herodotus remarks that the Indians were the most numerous people known; that they wore cotton, and made their bows and arrows of reeds, that is, of bamboo: some tribes of them lived on fish, and constructed boats of reeds, a single joint of the reed being sufficient to make a boat. In the Persian army were Indians who wore the skins of horses' heads for helmets, the ears and mane remaining on as decorations. These appear to be the *asra-muchas* or *horse-faces* of the Indian historians. The abstinence of the Hindoos from animal food did not escape the notice of our author, nor the dissolute manners and cruelty into which they are misled in many instances by their wanton superstitions. Herodotus has been censured for credulity and want of science, because he says that the sun is vertical in India before mid-day; but the passage which has incurred this censure will, if examined liberally, afford new proofs of his well-directed spirit of enquiry. "The Indians," he says, "differ from other nations, inasmuch as their greatest heat is not at mid-day, but in the morning: they have the heat of a vertical sun at the hour when we withdraw from the forum." Here it is evident that he received his intelligence from the inhabitants of the coast, where the heat is most intense from sunrise in the morning till the forenoon, when the sea breezes set in.

The East is rich in fables, and the great wealth of India is the subject of many a strange fiction. Hero-

dotus is the first who reports the tale of the enormous ants, as large as foxes, that burrow in the golden sands of India. They are supposed to be extremely formidable, and it is not without great danger that the soil thrown up from their excavations is collected and carried off. This story was afterwards repeated by every Greek who visited the East, and is perhaps a popular Persian tale. The Arabian travellers related it in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and even in the sixteenth century, Busbequius, who resided some time at the court of Solyman the Great, enumerates, among the presents sent by the king of Persia to the sultan, "the skins of ants which are said to be as large as dogs."

The knowledge which Herodotus acquired of Africa was relatively very great, and along the course of the Nile his information reached as far perhaps as that which we possess at the present day. Egypt he made his particular study; he examined it in its whole length as far as the cataracts of the Nile, and corrects his countrymen, who gave the name of Egypt to the Delta alone. Although he appears to make Egypt a part of Africa, yet he carefully distinguishes between Africans and Egyptians. What were the physical characteristics of the latter people it is difficult to make out with certainty. The Colchians, it appears, resembled Egyptians by their dark colour and frizzled hair; yet that these were not negroes may be concluded by the steadiness with which he applies the name of *Æthiopian* to the latter race.

Herodotus describes at great length all the wonders and peculiarities of Egypt, and details the positions which occur in a four months' voyage up the Nile. "In navigating this river," he says, "above *Elephantina*, the current is so strong, that the boat must be drawn along by ropes from both sides: after voyaging four days in this way a great plain is reached, and an island formed by the branches of the Nile, of which the Æthiopians occupy the one half, the Egyptians the other. Near this island, which is called *Tachompso**, is a great lake, beyond which the

* In Coptic, the island of crocodiles.

navigation of the river is so much impeded by sharp rocks, that a journey of forty days by land must be accomplished before the traveller can again embark with safety; but having gained the deep channel, he arrives in twelve days at *Meroe*, the great capital of *Æthiopia*. From this place it requires as many days to reach the country of the *Automoles* as it did to arrive here from *Elephantina* These *Automoles* are the descendants of Egyptian soldiers, who left their own country in the reign of Psammetichus, and settled in Æthiopia."

It is evident that Herodotus speaks of the true Nile, or *Bahr-al-abiad*, which comes from the south-west. The position of *Meroe* is generally understood to be at the junction of the Tacazze and Blue river, or Nile of Abyssinia: here it was that Bruce saw ruins corresponding with the reputed greatness of the ancient capital of Æthiopia. Modern travellers have pushed their enquiries up the river, in the hopes of discovering some traces of the *Automoles*, and they have found that in the very place indicated by Herodotus there is a people who speak a peculiar language, practise circumcision, have numerous superstitions, and call themselves the *Exiles*, and who are in all probability an Egyptian colony, although they believe themselves to be descended from the Jews.

Among the nations inhabiting the coasts of Libya, as far as the lesser Syrtis, Herodotus found much to engage his curiosity. The *Adyrmachides* dressed their food in the sand heated by the sun's rays. The *Nasamons*, when they swore to an engagement, drank water out of each other's hands; a custom still observed by the Algerines in their marriage ceremonies. The *Psylli* possessed the secret of charming or teaching serpents, an art which survives, though the *Psylli* appear to be extinct. The *Lotophagi* lived on the fruit of the lotus shrub, as in the days of Homer. As far westward as the territory of Tripoli his knowledge of the country is tolerably accurate; but beyond that point some vague mention of *Carthage*, *Mount Atlas*, the *Pillars of Her-*

cules, and Cape *Soloeis*, is all that we have to fill up the outline to the Atlantic.

With respect to the route into the interior, our author collected some interesting particulars from the Egyptian priests. The temple of Jupiter Ammon was situated in an oasis at the distance of ten days' journey to the west of Thebes in Upper Egypt: at an equal distance beyond the temple of Ammon was *Augila*, another oasis abounding in springs and date trees: another journey of ten days brought the traveller to the country of the Garamantes, who, mounted on chariots, relentlessly pursued the wretched Æthiopians. The oasis of Augila still preserves its name and its fertility unchanged after the lapse of so many centuries, and is still the chief halting place for the caravans to *Bornou*, where a large body of cavalry is constantly employed by the sultan of the country in capturing slaves for the Egyptian market. At the distance of ten days' journey from the Garamantes, Herodotus places the *Atarantes*, of whom, he observes, that they were the only people in the world who did not know the use of proper names; and, in fact, this peculiarity is still met with in the interior of Africa. Another ten days' march brings us to Mount Atlas, beyond which, the ingenuous Grecian confesses that he does not know the names of any nations; "but I know," he adds, "that the sandy desert extends from Thebes to the pillars of Hercules, and that at the distance of ten days' journey (it is not evident from what point) there is a mine of salt with which the people build their houses."

He relates an anecdote to prove that the Nile flows from the west, which derives an interest from its relation to that which has proved the most difficult of all geographical problems. Five young Nasamones, travelling into the interior, arrived first at a country filled with wild beasts; they then directed their march towards the west, and after wandering a long time through the desert, at length reached a fertile plain, where, while they were engaged in gathering fruits, a party of black men of diminutive stature rushed from their concealment

and seized them. They were then conducted across a marshy country until they at length reached a great city inhabited by blacks: a great river, in which there were crocodiles, flowed through the city from west to east. There is no reason to doubt that this river was the Niger; but who can suppose, with major Rennel and others, that the great city to which the Nasamones were conducted was Timbuctoo? or who will believe that a city of mud hovels, inhabited by a people who have made but little progress in the arts of social life, can boast an antiquity of two thousand years?

Herodotus relates that the Carthaginians carried on a trade with an African people beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, with whom, nevertheless, they had no personal communication. Having arrived at the place, they arranged their goods in a number of small heaps, and retired; the natives then came forward, and placed opposite to those heaps the wares which they were willing to give for them in exchange: if the merchant was satisfied with the bargain, he took away the offered commodities, and left his own; if not, he carried away the latter, and the traffick was, for that turn, at an end. This singular story, it is remarkable, has been repeated by almost all the Arabian geographers; only that they remove the scene of this dumb commerce from the coast to the remotest parts of the interior. At the present day the Moors who trade across the desert give the same relation; and when we consider that a similar mode of dealing existed for ages on the borders of China, the story must not be rejected as altogether incredible.

With respect to the southern part of the African continent, Herodotus informs us that the Æthiopians, at the extremities of the earth, are *Macrobii* or long-lived, and that they have enormous quantities of gold, insomuch that captives are loaded with fetters made of that precious metal. He does not appear to have believed that Africa stretches as far southward as Arabia, and states explicitly, that it is surrounded by the ocean on all sides, except at the isthmus of Suez. This persuasion

was founded on the circumnavigation of Africa, said to have been performed by the orders of Necbos king of Egypt, two centuries before our author's time. When that king had finished his canal from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf, he despatched some Phœnicians from it with orders to return to Egypt by the Pillars of Hercules and the Mediterranean Sea. They accordingly sailed into the southern ocean. When the autumn was come, they landed on the part of Libya which was nearest to them, and sowed some grain; and when the harvest was gathered, they put to sea again. In this way they continued the voyage for two years: in the third year they doubled the Pillars of Hercules and arrived in Egypt. They related, that, while sailing round Libya, they had the sun on the right hand, "which to me," says Herodotus, "does not appear credible, however it may seem to others." As the geographical knowledge of Herodotus reached far beyond Syene on the Nile, and therefore within the tropic, he could not have been ignorant that the sun might be for a season to the north, or on the right hand of one whose face was directed to the west; but he was not prepared to believe that it could be so throughout the whole year, "*while they sailed round Libya.*" The science of Greece was not yet sufficiently matured, to enable the philosopher to foresee the phænomena which the heavens might present beyond the line.

The most able modern geographers, in examining minutely the particulars of this account, have rejected the alleged circumnavigation as wholly fabulous. And indeed it must be admitted, that so naked a relation, one so destitute of all the interesting particulars of the great achievement it pretends to record, ought to be rejected for its inherent improbability. As to the air of likelihood thrown over the story by describing the path of the sun as on the right hand, or towards the north, it is obvious that that appearance is familiar to all who live below the tropic; and, besides, in all the authentic accounts remaining to us of ancient navigators, fabrications of this

kind recur without number; the discoveries of expectation being unhesitatingly added to those of experience.

In the reign of Xerxes also, one Sataspes, a Persian noble in disgrace, undertook to sail round Africa; but after he had passed the Pillars of Hercules, and steered for several months to the south without seeing any probable termination of his labours, his resolution forsook him, and he returned home without accomplishing his purpose.

Of western Europe Herodotus knew but little. The Phocæans, he says, had discovered the *Adriatic* *, *Tyrrhenia*, *Iberia*, and *Tartessus*. The *Cynetæ*, (Cantabrians, probably,) lived at the extremity beyond the *Celts*. He knew that tin and amber were brought from the remotest parts of Europe, but had no idea of the local situation of the countries which supplied them. He doubted the existence of a river flowing into the northern sea, and called *Eridanus*; nor was he inclined to acquiesce in the opinion prevailing in his day, that Europe is encompassed by the ocean on the north and west. It is remarkable that Hecatæus, half a century earlier, had mentioned in his writings a great island opposite to Gaul, and a great river, *Paropamisus*, flowing into the northern ocean. The name Eridanus, it must be observed, is one of those general designations which, incapable of being fixed, plagues the geographer by its erratic nature. The word *dana* was the *Median* name for a river, and was carried into Europe by the tribes migrating from inner Asia.† Thus it makes its appearance in the names *Tan-ais*, or *Don*, *D'ni-eper* and *D'ni-ester* (upper and lower rivers), *Dan-ube*, *Rha-danus*, *Rho-danus*, and *Eri-danus* (probably distant river), from the shores of the Euxine to the country of the Celts. Hesiod speaks of an Eridanus, without assigning it any position. Æschylus places a river of that name in Iberia and Gaul; Euripides in Italy, where Grecian geographers

* The name of the *Adria*, or Adriatic sea, appears to be derived from the word *adrch*, water or sea, brought thither perhaps by the *Veneti*. This word belongs to the great Japhetian family of languages (*udra* in Sanscrit signifying water), and is still used by the Abazes, a Caucasian people.

† It is still retained by the Ossetes in the Caucasus, a remnant of the Alans, who belong properly to the *German* family of nations.

at length confined the name to the Po. To Herodotus the name *Eridanus* appeared so manifestly Greek, that he could not believe that shifting stream to have any existence but in the imagination of the poets.

As often as general expressions occurred in ancient geography, a fabulous original was sure to be afterwards assigned to them by writers unacquainted with their meaning. When a country is known in detail, general names vanish, and particular designations supply their places. The migrations also which took place so frequently in ancient times must have caused great confusion in the language of topography. The *Riphæan* mountains are among those ramblers which incurred the reputation of being merely fabulous. Originally in Thrace, to the westward of *Hæmus*, they were afterwards translated northwards to the site of the Uralian chain, and were at length considered as having no existence. But the word *ripha* signified a mountain in general; and the circumstance of its being used in Thrace and in Scythia proves an approximation in race and language of the nations which possessed those countries.*

Herodotus hardly notices *Massilia* or Marseilles, a colony of Phocæans founded a century and a half before his time; and the name of Rome, whose rising fortunes had been obscurely increasing for three hundred years, does not once occur in his pages. His account of Italy comprises only the southern portion of the peninsula of Magna Græcia, nor is there any ground for the opinion that he makes incidental mention of Cortona. †

* *Parva* or *parvat*, in Sanscrit, signifies a mountain. The Sclavonian *Horvat*, *Hrvat*, *Carpat*, and *Crpatsk*, are, perhaps, not so much corruptions as old and coetaneous forms of the same word. From *aima*, snow, in Sanscrit, the Greeks had their *Hæmus* and *Imaus* (Himalya) or *snowy* regions: from *parva* and *aima* combined, was derived the name of the *paropamisus* or *snowy mountains* of the Hindoo Coosh.

† Herodotus (lib. i. c. 5.) endeavours to prove that the Pelasgians were barbarians, *i. e.* that they did not speak the Greek language. For, as he argues, "the Crestoniates (which some would read Cortoniates) and the Placians, the remnants of that nation, although they speak one and the same language, are not intelligible to those who live around them." Must it not then be inferred that those who lived around them were Greeks, and not Tuscans? It is remarkable that Niebuhr (Rom. Hist. I. 29), who maintains that by Chreston Herodotus meant Cortona, and Müller (die Etrusker I. 95) who holds the contrary opinion, have both overlooked the author's argument, and have consequently lost the force of the passage in dispute.

The work of Herodotus forms the most precious gift which has ever been conferred on the literature and philosophy of any country in their age of adolescence. It embodies a great deal of historical information, with a multitude of remarks on manners and natural objects, written with singular liveliness and candour, and collected from all the nations with which the Greeks at that time had any acquaintance. The communicative ardour of the father of history was not damped by any sceptical misgivings; what he had gathered laboriously he poured abroad freely for the consideration of riper ages; and if he sometimes relates with too much gravity what common sense cannot credit, it must be remembered that the hardihood of credulity is best fitted to pioneer the road of knowledge, and that the cautious tread of critical discrimination can follow only in a beaten path.

It is remarkable, that an author whose information reached into the heart of Russia, to the Ural mountains and the sea of Aral, to the confines of Tartary and of India, to the negro nations inhabiting the banks of the Nile, and even to that mysterious river which waters an almost hidden world beyond the great desert, should have scarcely any knowledge of the nations in the west of Europe, and should speak even of the neighbouring peninsula of Italy in obscurer terms than of that of Arabia. But as civilisation advanced towards the West, the train of light which marked its progress still shone in the opposite direction; and the Greeks naturally turned their eyes to that quarter of the globe where the maturity of the social state, and the astonishing monuments which existed of human power and ingenuity, offered an endless source of gratification to their curiosity.

In the age of Herodotus the commercial character of the Greeks was already fully developed: they had established themselves in all the shores of the Euxine; they had penetrated even into the country of the *Budini*, some hundred miles up the *Tanais*, where, in the midst of nomad tribes, they had built themselves a great city entirely of wood; they maintained an occasional inter-

course with the people bordering on the Caspian; and passed through so many different nations in these commercial visits, that they were obliged to employ, we are told, no less than seven interpreters in their course. In Persia a colony of Greeks had been established by Xerxes, and was cherished by him as the only fruit of his expedition. In Lower Egypt they were numerous from an early age. Thus the lively and enterprising spirit of his countrymen offered great facilities to Herodotus in pursuing his researches in various quarters. they probably served him as interpreters; and it is only by supposing the absence of such aids that we can explain his total silence respecting Jerusalem, and the scantiness of his remarks on Tyre and Carthage. The forbidding temper of the Jewish religion, the jealousy of commercial monopoly, and the difficulties of a strange language, could alone have veiled from his view objects so well deserving his attention.

It is natural that one who sought so zealously for facts should be extremely mistrustful of arbitrary hypotheses. Herodotus called in question many long-received opinions. He did not deny that the earth was a sphere, as his commentators have erroneously imagined; but he ridiculed the idea of its being a circular disk, encompassed by the ocean, as it was described by the geographers of his day. He was persuaded that the earth was not a circle; and as to the existence of "the floods of ocean," he was far from being satisfied with the authority of the poets. He thought the division into three continents extremely unreasonable, and believed that Europe (to which, indeed, he could not affix any limits towards the east), was greater than the other two continents taken together, being equal to them in length, and much exceeding them in breadth. For this opinion he has been much and undeservedly censured, for even his mistakes prove the justness and independence of his mind. It was natural for him to magnify that of which he had only an obscure perception; but his belief that Africa might be circumnavigated, which had the

effect of diminishing that continent in his estimation, and his hesitation to admit such an outline of Europe as system alone would delineate, are equally to his credit. Into whatever errors Herodotus may have run when he himself ventured to speculate, he was seldom led astray by the theories of others; and he not only laid before his countrymen the most valuable accumulation of facts which the world had to that age received, but he also taught them the useful lesson how to doubt and discuss.

CHAP. IV.

THE GREEKS CONTINUED.

SCARCITY OF BOOKS IN ANTIQUITY. — HERODOTUS IGNORANT OF THE CARTHAGINIAN DISCOVERIES. — VOYAGE OF HANNO TO THE NEGRO COUNTRY — SEES CROCODILES AND HIPPOPOTAMI. — NOCTURNAL FIRES. — GORILLÆ, OR OURANG OUTANGS. HIMILCO EXPLORES THE NORTHERN SEAS — FINDS THE TIN COUNTRY. — ALBION AND IERNE. — SCYLAX OF CARYANDA THE FIRST GREEK WHO MENTIONS ROME. — PYTHEAS OF MARSEILLES. — VISITS BRITAIN. — DISCOVERS THULÉ. — DESCRIBES THE AMBER COAST IN THE BALTIC. — WAS AN ACUTE OBSERVER. — XENOPHON DESCRIBES THE RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND. — THE CURDS. — THE ARMENIAN MOUNTAINEERS. CTESIAS. — RESIDES IN PERSIA. — MIXES ORIENTAL FABLES WITH HIS RELATIONS. — MEN WITH THE HEADS AND TAILS OF DOGS. — THE MAGIC POOL OF SILAS. — SPEAKS OF THE KERMES INSECT. — GREEK PHILOSOPHERS. — ARISTOTLE. — MENTIONS THE HERCYNIAN MOUNTAINS OR THE HARTZ. — THE BRITANNIC ISLANDS AND TAPROBANE. — THOUGHT THAT INDIA MIGHT BE REACHED BY THE WEST.

THE progress of geographical knowledge depends more on the general intercourse subsisting between nations than on the exertions of individual travellers. Such an intercourse existed but imperfectly in ancient times; and this circumstance, together with the scarcity of books (in consequence of which contemporary authors

were often ignorant of one another's labours), prevented the geography of the Greeks from reaching the perfection which might have been expected from the diffusion and enlightenment of that enquiring people. The voyages of the Carthaginian admirals, Hanno and Himilco, in the western ocean, along the coasts of Africa and of Europe, were unknown to Herodotus, although performed, apparently, long before his time. Yet among the early attempts at maritime discovery, of which we have any authentic accounts, these were, unquestionably, the most important.

Hanno was despatched by the senate of Carthage to establish some colonies on the western coast of Africa. The fleet which he commanded was composed of sixty large vessels, and had on board no less than thirty thousand persons of both sexes. After sailing for two days beyond the columns of Hercules, the fleet anchored opposite to a great plain, where a town called *Thymiaterion* was built, and a settlement effected. Still sailing westward, the expedition next arrived at the promontory of *Soloe* (perhaps Cape Cantin), covered with thick woods. Having doubled this cape, they built five other towns on the sea side, and at no great distance from one another. They continued their southerly course, and at length reached the great river *Lixus*, flowing from Libya: some wandering shepherd tribes inhabited its banks. Beyond this people, in the interior, Æthiopian (negro) savages inhabited a hilly country, overrun with wild beasts. The Carthaginians, taking with them some of the friendly *Lixites* as interpreters, continued their voyage to the south, along a desert shore. Two days' sail brought them to an inlet, at the bottom of which was an island about five stadia in circumference, to which they gave the name *Cerne*: here they calculated the reckonings of their voyage, and found that *Cerne* was as far from the Pillars of Hercules as the latter place was from Carthage. The next remarkable object which occurred was the great river *Chretes*: this they entered, and found that it opened within into a wide haven, con-

taining several large islands. The hills in the neighbourhood were inhabited by black savages clothed in the skins of wild beasts, who drove away our voyagers with stones and other missiles. Not far from this was another great river filled with crocodiles and hippopotami. After sailing twelve days to the south from *Cerne*, the Carthaginians came to a hilly country, covered with a variety of odoriferous trees and shrubs. The *Æthiopians* or negroes of this coast were a timid race, who fled from the strangers, and whose language was quite unintelligible to the *Lixite* interpreters. Seven days' sail from this coast brought the expedition to a great bay, to which they gave the name of *Western Horn*. In this bay was an island, on which they landed to repose themselves for a little after the hardships of the sea. During the day all was calm; but at night strange appearances presented themselves; the mountains seemed to be all on fire, and the sound of flutes, drums, and cymbals was mingled with wild screams and piercing cries. Our voyagers, terrified at what they saw and heard, immediately took to flight. As they continued their course to the south, the odoriferous vegetation of the coast perfumed the air; but still columns of flame illuminated the midnight sky, and the ground was so hot that it was impossible to walk upon it for a moderate distance. Sailing seven days along this coast, they came to a bay, which they called *South Horn*, and found within it an island with a lake, and in the middle of this lake another island filled with savages of a peculiar description, probably some species of ourang outang. The females were covered with hair, and were called by the interpreters *Gorillæ*. The males fled across the precipices, and defended themselves obstinately with stones; but the Carthaginians captured three females: these, however, broke their cords, and fought so furiously with tooth and nail, that it was found necessary to kill them: their skins were stuffed and brought to Carthage. The want of provisions prevented our voyagers from proceeding any farther to the south.

It is impossible to read the narrative of Hanno's expedition without being struck with the simplicity and genuineness of the relation, or without being astonished at the immutability of manners among savage nations; for the stillness by day, the nocturnal fires, the clang of musical instruments, and wild merriment in the cool of night, are the same now on the coast of Africa as they were five-and-twenty centuries ago. The imperfect manner in which the details of this voyage, relating to time and distance, have been transmitted to us by the Greeks, render it impossible to ascertain with precision how far it extended. The wild negroes, the hairy Gorillæ, the great rivers filled with crocodiles, and the fragrance of the woods, all seem to point out the Senegambia as the country where the progress of the expedition terminated. Some great authorities, indeed, have extended it to Guinea, while others confine it within the limits of Cape Non, on the southern confines of Morocco. Many of these geographers have erred continually in their calculations, by mistaking the meaning of the expression, *keras* (*a horn*), which the Greeks generally applied to inlets of the sea, rather than to promontories. Those who restrict the voyage of Hanno to the coast north of the Senegal, insist on the unlikelihood of his passing such remarkable headlands as Cape Blanco and Cape Verd, without making particular mention of them; but to this it may be answered, that we do not possess the original journal of the Carthaginian admiral, and that the deficiencies of an extract made from it by a Greek, apparently of a much later age, ought not to be weighed against the positive indications it contains.

While Hanno explored the coasts of Africa to the south, Himilco held his course in the opposite direction. Unhappily but a few scattered details remain of his discoveries. On the coasts of Spain he found the *Ostrymnians*, who gave their name to a promontory of the mainland, to a bay, and to some islands adjacent, which abounded in tin. These are supposed to be the *Cassiterides*. The Ostrymnians were wealthy and industrious;

it appears, therefore, that the tin trade existed on those western shores before they were visited by the Carthaginians. Himilco mentioned also the British islands, *Al-fionn* and the *sacred* island, *Ierne*. It is remarkable, however, that Ireland is never mentioned by the ancients under a native name: the relative designation *Ier-nye*, or Western Isle, was evidently taken from the Celts of Gaul or Britain.*

Scylax, of Caryanda, who wrote a few years later than Herodotus, was the first who made known to the Greeks the discoveries of the Carthaginians. The work of his which remains to us describes the coasts of the Euxine, of the Mediterranean, and those of western Africa, as far as the isle of Cerne: he is the earliest Greek writer who mentions the name of Rome. Of the western coasts of the Mediterranean he knew much more than Herodotus, and enumerates many cities, among which *Massilia*, the modern Marseilles, was already distinguished for its wealth and commerce.

This Greek colony must, from its situation, have soon become acquainted with the maritime enterprises of the Carthaginians; and was, perhaps, as much incited by a spirit of rivalry as by the adventurous disposition nurtured by commercial pursuits, to engage in the career of discovery. *Pytheas* of Marseilles was a man eminently qualified, by his courage and scientific acquirements, to open new routes of commerce across unknown seas, and promote the interests of geography. The date of his voyage cannot be fixed with precision, but it is certain that his writings were known in Greece in the time of Alexander the Great; and as the circulation of books was not very rapid in antiquity, it is likely that he belonged to the preceding age. Sailing along the coasts of Spain and Gaul, Pytheas reached Great Britain, called *Albion*, or *Al-fionn*, that is, the *White-land*, by the in-

* Unless we suppose the *Mictis* of Timæus (see Pliny) to mean Ireland, an ancient native appellation of which was *Muic*. The description of a country situated six days' sail *within* Albion, suits better with Ireland than with the Scilly islands. "As to the account of tin being brought from it is of little consequence, as the Greeks adopted every supposition that could solve the enigma of the tin islands.

habitants. Here he appears to have followed the southern and eastern shores, and from the length of these to have calculated the circuit of the island, which he estimates at forty thousand stadia. Of Ireland he makes no mention; but says that steering northward from the coast of Britain, he arrived in six days at *Thule*, whose uninviting shores were covered with perpetual fogs, and presented the chaotic appearance of earth, sea, and air, all jumbled together in disorder. Few geographical problems have ever perplexed the learned so much as that of determining the position of Thule. Some suppose that the Greek navigator designed by that name *Jutland*, where a district at the present day bears the name of *Thy-land*, and was anciently called *Thin-land;* others think it more likely that he reached the coasts of Norway, a portion of which still retains the name of *Thelemark;* and in the Icelandic Sagas is named *Thulemark*. But from this diversity of opinion all we can conclude with certainty is, that the name *Thule* was of true Scandinavian origin, and that it was applied successively to different places. It is not unlikely, indeed, that the word was originally synonymous with the epithet *Ultima*, which was afterwards attached to it.

Pytheas is reported to have said that in *Thule* at the summer solstice the sun did not set for four-and-twenty hours. As this, however, is not true of any country beyond the arctic circle, we may, perhaps, be warranted in suspecting that the Greek navigator picked up some information on the coasts of Britain respecting some country to the north, and that he then ventured to describe that country as exhibiting the phenomena, which experience taught him were to be expected on approaching the pole. How naturally the bright nights of a northern summer may have given rise to such an exaggeration, is evident from the language employed by Tacitus some centuries later. "In the farthest part of Britain," says that writer, "the nights are so clear that you can hardly tell when daylight begins or ends; and when the sky is not overcast with clouds, you may see all night long the light of the

sun, which *does not rise, or go down, but moves quite round.*"

The calmness and sluggish heaviness of the northern seas, which the ship's prow could hardly cleave, were remarked by Pytheas, as they were said to have been by his predecessor Himilco; and the same strange opinions were afterwards repeated by all the geographers of antiquity: perhaps the strength and complexity of our tides, which oppose serious difficulties to navigation along an indented coast, may have lent some countenance to prejudices founded in fable.

Of the voyage of Pytheas in the Baltic only a fragment remains, which proves in a striking manner the authenticity of his account. He relates that on the shores of a certain bay, called *Mentonomon*, lived a people named *Guttones*, and at the distance of a day's voyage from their habitations was the island *Abalus* (called by others *Baltia*), on which the sea threw the amber in great quantities: the people used it for fuel instead of wood, and sold it to their neighbours the *Teutones*. When Pytheas says that amber was used as fuel, he appears to confound that precious article with jet, and the latter with lignite or fossil wood: but the remainder of his relation is remarkably accurate. The bay alluded to is the *Frisch* and *Curisch Haaf*, and the name *Mentonomon* appears to be derived from *Mendaniemi*, the *Promontory of Fir-trees*. The provinces Nadrauen and Schalavonia are still called *Gudda*, and the inhabitants *Guddai*, in the Lithuanian dialect. The spot in Samland which yielded most amber bore formerly the name of *Wittland*, which in Lithuanian is *Baltikke*, from *baltos*, white.

Pytheas was not merely a bold mariner; he was also a man of science and observation. He fixed the latitude of his native city *Massilia* with an accuracy which has been acknowledged by modern astronomers. The phenomena of tides particularly caught his attention; and he appears to have been the first who ascribed them to the influence of the moon, but we are ignorant of the reasonings by which he supported his theory. He also

knew that the pole-star in the tail of the lesser bear did not mark the place of the true pole. It is to be regretted that so little remains to us of the writings of this sagacious observer: his description of the northern nations at that early period could not fail to be interesting; and that he had formed some acquaintance with them may be concluded from the mention he makes of mead, their favourite beverage, and other peculiarities of the Gothic life.

In the same age with Pytheas, or a little later, flourished Xenophon (400 B.C.), who, if he did not extend the limits of geographical knowledge, at least added to it many valuable details. Retreating with the ten thousand Greeks from Cyanaxa on the banks of the Euphrates, he traversed a wild and unknown country. The *Carduchii* harassed the retreating army in the very mountains which are now occupied by the *Curds*. The *Taochi*, when pressed by the Greeks, precipitated themselves from the cliffs with their wives and children rather than submit to captivity.

The habits of the people in the elevated regions of Armenia have undergone no change from the time of Xenophon to the present day. His accounts of their habitations might be supposed to be taken from a modern book of travels. "Their houses," he says, "are underground, with a mouth resembling that of a well. An entrance is dug for the cattle, but the inhabitants descend by ladders. In these houses are goats, sheep, cows, and fowls, all under the same roof with the family." The Greeks encountered numberless hardships from the severity of the climate and the incessant attacks of the fierce mountaineers. They at length entered the country of the *Scythini*, (a wandering tribe, perhaps, like the modern Turcomans,) and there, from a mountain called *Theches* (and still named Teke), they, with infinite joy, descried the sea. After halting some time at the friendly city of *Trapezus* (Trebisond), they continued their route to *Cotyora*, and saw in their march the *Mosynœci*, naked savages, whose bodies were tattooed all over, and whose

manners, described by Xenophon, suggest a comparison *with the most barbarous tribes of North America.*

A contemporary of Xenophon, named Ctesias, entered into the service of the Persian king, and visited India; but the accounts which he transmitted to Greece of that rich country were so alloyed with fables, that little regard was eventually paid to the truth which they contained. Yet, though it must be admitted that the early Greek travellers were prone to exaggeration, a candid critic will make large allowances for the romantic fictions so often mingled with their descriptions of the East. It deserves, indeed, to be remarked that whatever accounts we have from ancient writers respecting western nations, are, in general, of a sober and veracious character, while the opposite quarter of the globe is peopled by them with monsters of all descriptions. The fables of the ancients, which related to the West, were chiefly mythological, and had an air of antiquity; but their eastern fictions were evidently the wild freaks of eastern imagination. The Greeks, we may therefore conclude, were not the authors of those extravagancies, but only related what they heard from the natives; with less caution and discrimination, indeed, than the taste and sentiments of a maturer age would require.

If the accounts of Ctesias, then, be interpreted with the same latitude as those of a Hindoo, they will be found to contain not a little information. Thus, in describing the inhabitants of Budtan, he says that they are black, with the head and nails of a dog, and with tails; now they are actually called by the Hindoos *Calystiri* or *Dog-faced*, but the tail is certainly a Grecian embellishment. They live, he says, on flesh dried in the sun, and never bathe, but rub their bodies with oil. These practices are still followed in Thibet, only that butter is the unguent used instead of oil. His information reached as far as Nepaul, which he calls *Ottoracora*, or the North. Among the wonders related by Ctesias, the fountain *Sides*, or *Silas*, in which liquid gold sprung up from a rock of pure iron, deserves to be separated

from the vulgar fictions of pigmies and griffons. The iron which formed the basin was more precious than the gold it contained; for a sword made of it, if stuck in the ground, had the virtue to avert the wrath of thunderbolts. Some have been led by this glittering tale to vindicate, for the Persians, the credit of being the earliest electricians. Ctesias gave good descriptions of the monkeys, parrots, and rich chintzes of India; and what is more remarkable, he appears to have known the lac and kermes insects, and to have confounded them together; for he describes an insect inhabiting the amber which grows on trees (a mode of describing gum lac which probably incurred the censure of fabrication), and yielding a rich scarlet dye used to colour the splendid shawls which were offered as presents to the king of Persia.

The elegant history which Xenophon wrote of the retreat of the ten thousand, (a retreat which was conducted, in the latter part of it, by himself;) and the writings of his celebrated contemporary Hippocrates, who travelled through Scythia, Colchis, Asia Minor, and perhaps Egypt, to study the diversities of climate; added much to the knowledge both of nature and of human society. The increase of information favoured the speculative temper of the Greek philosophers. Ephorus of Cumæ, who flourished about 350 years before our era, appears to have been the first writer who conceived the division of mankind into distinct races. According to him, the *Greeks* occupied the centre of the earth; and round them were disposed, in the four quarters, the *Indians*, *Æthiopians*, *Celts*, and *Scythians*. The idea that his own country was in the middle was common to Ephorus with the early geographers of many distant nations; for the Indian *Midyama*, the Scandinavian *Midgard*, and the Chinese *Chung-quo*, all signifying the middle kingdom, have their origin in a similar opinion.

But the benefits which accrued to science from the activity of its followers were not confined to the invention of these vague theories. The discoveries and observations of Herodotus, of Scylax, of Hippocrates, and

of Pytheas, were weighed by one of those master minds on whom nature seems to confer the right to theorise; for Aristotle was among the number of those extraordinary men, who by the strength and universality of their genius are fitted to be the architects rather than the builders of the edifice of knowledge. The boldness and variety of his speculations recommended him to the subtle temper of the Arabians, by whom he was first made known to modern Europe; and as the features of a deified hero are deformed in the idol fashioned by his rude adorers, so the fame of Aristotle has hardly yet recovered from the multiplied perversions to which his writings were subjected by the ignorance of past ages.

Aristotle possessed a great fund of geographical knowledge. He maintained that the earth is a sphere, having a circumference of 400,000 *stadia*, a calculation which may be correct; but the uncertainty, as to the *stadium* employed renders it impossible to appreciate its merit. Reasoning firmly on the hypothesis that the earth is a globe, Aristotle appears to have suggested the voyage across the Atlantic eighteen centuries before Columbus; for he observes, that the coasts of Spain cannot be very far distant from those of India. The happy boldness of this thought was all his own, the errors of calculation belonged to his age. In his nomenclature, too, we see evidence of a juster geographical conception than was possessed by many writers of a much later age. His knowledge of the earth was bounded by the *Gallic* and *Indian* gulfs on the West and East, by the *Riphæan* mountains on the North, and on the South by the great river *Cremetes*, "which, having its source in the same mountain as the Nile, flows westward into the ocean." This great river must be the Senegal. Aristotle knew but little of the north of Europe, yet he is the first who mentions the *Hercynian* mountains; a designation which, probably, extended over the lofty ranges on the west and north of Bohemia, but which is at present retained only by the insulated mountains of the *Hartz*. He also makes express mention of two large islands, *Albion* and

Ierne, situated to the north of *Celtica* (and he is the first writer who mentions them together, and with the common name *Brittanicæ*); but he adds, that they are not by any means so large as *Taprobane* beyond India, or *Phebol* in the Arabian sea. Here we have a proof of his extensive information in this early mention of *Taprobane* or Ceylon, and *Phebol*, which is generally supposed to be Madagascar; but which, as *Saibala* is an Indian name, ought, perhaps, to be looked for more towards the east.

Aristotle had many scholars who devoted themselves to geographical studies, and some of whom, as Dicæarchus and Theophrastus, obtained distinction by their writings; but he had the singular honour of infusing the love of knowledge into the future conqueror of Asia. The spirit of the royal pupil corresponded with the intellectual eminence of the great teacher; and the expedition of Alexander produced a greater revolution in the knowledge of the globe, than almost any other event recorded in ancient history; and more designedly, perhaps, than is generally imagined.

CHAP. V.

GREEKS CONTINUED.

EXPEDITION OF ALEXANDER. — POLICY OF THAT CONQUEROR. — ENTERS INDIA. — RESOLVES TO EXPLORE THE PERSIAN GULF. — THE MARCH DOWN THE INDUS. — NEARCHUS EMBARKS. — SUFFERS GREAT HARDSHIPS. — IMAGINES HIMSELF AT THE EQUATOR. — THE GREEKS DISMAYED AT THE APPEARANCE OF A WHALE. — FAMISHED IN THE MIDST OF TURTLE. — SUCCESSFUL TERMINATION OF THE VOYAGE. — PREPARATIONS MADE TO EXPLORE THE COASTS OF ARABIA. — ARRESTED BY THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER. — GRAND VIEWS OF THAT PRINCE. — REMARKS OF THE MACEDONIANS IN INDIA. — DIVISION OF THE PEOPLE INTO CASTES. — HONEY MADE WITHOUT BEES. — ELEPHANTS. — USE OF UMBRELLAS. — THE BANYAN TREES. — THE FAQUIRS. — SELF-DEVOTION TO THE FLAMES. — CITY OF PALIBOTHRA. — ITS SITUATION. — INDIAN FABLES. — RESPECT PAID TO MONKEYS. — THE GREEKS DISTORTED FOREIGN NAMES. — VOYAGE OF JAMBOLO TO CEYLON. — HIS REMARKS ON THE PEOPLE. — TAPROBANE OR CEYLON VARIOUSLY DESCRIBED. — ACCOUNTS OF THE ANCIENTS RECONCILED. — THE NAMES OF THAT ISLAND. — COMMERCE BETWEEN EGYPT AND THE EAST. — GEOGRAPHY FLOURISHED IN THE COMMERCIAL CITY OF ALEXANDRIA. — ERATOSTHENES MENTIONS THINÆ. — AGATHARCHIDES. — DESCRIBES ABYSSINIA. — WEALTH OF THE SABÆANS. — EUDOXUS OF CYZICUS. — SAILS TO INDIA. — DRIVEN TO THE COAST OF AFRICA. — FINDS THE SUPPOSED WRECK OF A SHIP FROM GADES. — BANISHED FROM EGYPT. — RESOLVES TO REACH INDIA BY THE OCEAN. — SAILS FROM GADES. — HIS MISFORTUNES. — REPEATS THE ATTEMPT. — HIS FATE AND CHARACTER.

THE march of Alexander was not attended with the ruin and desolation which usually mark the progress of eastern conquerors: he aimed at establishing a dominion permanent as well as universal, and, consequently, sought to gain the affections of his newly-conquered subjects. The success which attended all his measures was the result of deliberate policy and calculation. The power which waits on knowledge did not escape his notice; and he led in his train men of science, whose duty it

was to make themselves acquainted with every thing worthy of notice in the subjugated countries.

The fate of Persia being decided by the flight of Darius, the conqueror conducted his army to Bactria and the country on the Oxus; in short, to the eastern extremity of the world as it was known to Grecian geographers. But he had higher objects in view than the mere glory of subduing barbarous nations: curiosity and ambition both drew his regards to India; of which Herodotus had said, "that it was undoubtedly the richest and most populous country in the world." In consequence, when he had arranged the government of Persia, he marched into Candahar by the same route which was afterwards followed by the conquering armies of Tamerlane and Nadir Shah, and which had been long trodden by the Indo-Scythians, or warlike mountain tribes of the Indian frontiers. Crossing the Indus at *Taxila* (the city of the *Taes*), by some supposed to be the modern Attock, he shortly after entered the country of the *Penj-ab*, or *Five Rivers*, so called from the tributary waters which flow through it to the Indus. But on the banks of the first of these rivers, the *Hydaspes*, he found Porus, an Indian prince, prepared to dispute its passage. The true name of this chieftain, Puar or Powar, is still preserved among the noble Rajpoots: it is one of the very few noble names which have survived the revolutions to which India has been exposed. The Macedonians, however, were the victors in the engagement which ensued, and continued their march through one of the richest countries in the world; yet the Penj-ab yields in wealth and fertility to the countries situated on the banks of the Ganges. The fame of this celebrated river must have reached Alexander, and it was unquestionably his intention to embrace it within the boundaries of his empire; but when he had reached the *Hyphasis*, and before he had completely crossed the Penj-ab, the discontentment of his troops was so loudly declared, that he was obliged to relinquish the design of proceeding any further; and, indeed, when we remember that he entered India in the

rainy season, we can readily conceive the sufferings which checked the ardour and provoked the disobedience of the hardy Macedonians. This important error alone is sufficient to show how little acquaintance the Greeks had with India: but it is also related, that when Alexander saw crocodiles in the Indus, he conceived a notion that this river was connected with the Nile, and that its navigation downwards would conduct into Egypt. This anecdote, however, is hardly credible, though frequently repeated. Herodotus long before had expressly stated that the Indus was the only river besides the Nile in which crocodiles were found; and the general arrangement of Alexander's plans, both in Egypt and India, bespeak a share of geographical information totally irreconcileable with such a blunder.

It may even be suspected that Alexander contemplated from the beginning the establishment of a commercial intercourse between Egypt and India. The care he took to examine the navigation of the Persian Gulf and of the Indus; the cities founded by him in commanding situations on the branches of this river; the well-chosen site of Alexandria, which afterwards continued for many centuries the centre of the India trade, and his boasting that his fleets should sail round Africa; all these circumstances unite to point out some plans of more than ordinary magnitude. But whatever may have been the immediate designs of the Macedonian conqueror, it is certain that we may date from his eastern expedition the first growth of that *Indian trade*, which afterwards enriched for many ages his successors in Egypt, and which continues to this day an object of paramount importance to European nations.

The navigation of the Indus and of the coasts westward towards Persia being resolved upon, a fleet of eight hundred vessels was collected and entrusted to the command of Nearchus. *Nicæa*, on the Hydaspes, about 800 miles from the sea, was the point from which the expedition departed: the army, divided into two bodies, marched on both sides of the river to protect the fleet,

and the whole had the lively air of a triumphal procession. The Macedonians entered the country of the *Malli* (Moultan), and afterwards received the submission of the *Oxydracæ* (people of Outche), who were remarkable then as at present for being divided into cantons. Indeed, the feudal system exists in general on the Indian frontiers. On reaching the mouth of the Indus, Alexander, who always set the example of encountering difficulties, undertook himself to examine the eastern side of the Delta, and his vanity even impelled him to sail a short distance from land, that he might boast of being the first who went *beyond the Indies*. In this excursion, the fleet under his command sustained great damage from the *bore*, or rushing tide, a phenomenon with which the Greeks were wholly unacquainted, although they were not ignorant of the ordinary tides; and which, though common to the mouths of most great rivers, rages with peculiar violence in that of the Indus. Four months had been consumed in the progress down the river, and six or seven more were requisite to survey the Delta, and to complete the preparations for the voyage round the coast. At length, when every thing was ready, Alexander marched with his army towards the country of the *Arabitæ*, and Nearchus with the galleys dropped down the river to proceed towards the west.

The pompous ceremonies which preceded this voyage, and the preparations, inadequately great, which were made for it, instead of provoking ridicule, will enhance its merit in the eyes of the candid critic, since they show the importance attached to an enterprise, at that time considered as one of the most perilous nature, and the resolution with which it was undertaken. Indeed this was the first naval enterprise of any moment, conducted in such a manner as to have permanent and beneficial consequences.

Nearchus set sail in October, when the trade winds set in from the north-east. He was aware that the *Etesian winds*, as he called the monsoons, did not blow on the coasts of India as in the Mediterranean. But

though he had learned the periods of those winds, he was not yet practically acquainted with the manner of their variations, and had started in fact a month before the winter monsoon had commenced blowing steadily. In consequence of this mistake he made but little way, accomplishing not more than eighty miles in the first forty days of his voyage. His course, during all this time, lay along the coast of the *Arabitæ*, the modern *Belootches*, a fierce and predatory nation. The men were reduced, in the mean time, to the greatest distress for want of water and provisions, being compelled to subsist, in a great measure, on the shell-fish they picked up on the shore. As the eastern monsoon, however, grew steady, they had the satisfaction of advancing more rapidly along the coast of the *Oritæ*, whose name is still preserved in that of *Haur*, the modern capital of the province.

Nearchus relates, that when in this part of his voyage, he stood out to sea a considerable way to the south, the sun was vertical, and cast no shadow. This was really a fiction, for Nearchus was never within less than twenty-five degrees of the equator; but, like the fables of Pytheas, it serves to show how speculation may sometimes outstrip experience in the discovery of truth, since we find that the most striking celestial phenomena of the arctic and equatorial regions were justly described by Grecian navigators, long before they had ever seen them.

The Greeks now continued their voyage along the coast of the *Icthyophagi*, or *Fish-eaters*, a tribe sunk in the extreme of savage wretchedness. They were clad in the skins of fish; their huts were built with fish-bones, and covered with large shells; their bread was made of pounded fish; and even their cattle subsisted on the same food. The barrenness of the land, and the productiveness of the sea on this coast, being equally adverse to industry, have perpetuated the savage condition of the inhabitants to the present day. The natives, paddling in their canoes, appeared to the Macedonians to be digging the water with a spade. But Greek pride

was humbled for a moment by an accident which occurred in this part of the voyage: the sea was seen to spout up at no great distance, and when the pilot was asked to explain this singular appearance, he ascribed it to the blowing of a whale. The greatest consternation immediately prevailed throughout the whole fleet, at the thought of encountering so formidable a monster; nor did the alarm cease till the whale, assailed with shouts and the sounds of clashing arms, sunk quietly below the surface.

Famine still pressed the expedition: no meat or corn was to be procured, and but little water. Fish, indeed, and fine turtle, were in abundance; but to be reduced to such fare, appeared to the companions of Nearchus a proof of deep distress. The Greeks had no idea of feasting on turtle: they looked upon it, perhaps, with as much abhorrence as a Virginian does on mutton; a camel would have appeared to them preferable food. It is not wonderful, therefore, that when they reached a little town called *Barna*, where date-trees covered the shore, and nature wore a more smiling countenance, they should signalise their joy with the characteristic elegance of their nation, and weave themselves garlands of flowers.

A little farther on, the fleet having doubled *Badis*, or Cape Jask, anchored at the river *Anamis*, in the province of *Armozeia*, a name which subsequently passed to the little island of *Ormuz*, at that time called *Organa*. Here they learned the agreeable intelligence that Alexander was encamped with the army at the distance of only five days' journey from the shore. Nearchus hastened to meet the king, now almost in despair at not having heard any tidings of his fleet. The unexpected arrival of the admiral, whose appearance was so much altered by the hardships of the voyage that he could hardly be recognised, caused Alexander the most lively transports of joy: his glory was untarnished by failure, and an enterprise was accomplished under his auspices of a bold and original character, and from which he hoped to derive important consequences. The dif-

neulties of the voyage were now over: the remainder of the navigation to the mouth of the Euphrates lay along the friendly coasts of Carmania and Persis, from which the fleet received supplies in abundance, and where it was enabled to maintain in its progress a constant communication with the army.

The voyage from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Euphrates, which, at the present day, would be performed in about three weeks, occupied Nearchus one-and-twenty. But we must not undervalue the merit of a first attempt. Great caution was requsite at first to prevent discouraging accidents; but as the Macedonians proceeded in their navigation, their skill as well as courage increased: they weighed anchor at night, took advantage of the land and sea breezes, and employed the services of native pilots. The success of this experiment encouraged Alexander to look forward to the completion of his schemes. Arrangements were made for the examination of the southern coasts of the Persian Gulf; a detachment of the army was sent forward into Arabia to protect the fleet from insults; and Nearchus was already embarked to commence the enterprise, when the untimely death of Alexander put a sudden stop to its further prosecution. The career of that great man was arrested while he was engaged in accomplishing those schemes, the mere conception of which alone, perhaps, constitute his chief glory. He opened the world to the knowledge of mankind; and when we reflect on the enlarged policy which characterised all his measures, and on the advantages which his successors knew how to derive from his expedition to India, it is hard to refuse him the merit of fore-seeing all the consequences of an undertaking which he prosecuted with more than usual ardour. The whole country through which the Macedonian army marched from the Indus to Susiana is said to have been accurately surveyed and measured by Beton and Diognetus; but the writings of these, as well as of the other men of science who accompanied the expedition, are unfortunately lost; nothing

remaining of the numerous volumes written on that occasion but the journal of Nearchus and a few fragments preserved by later writers.

There could not be a stronger proof of the wisdom with which Alexander had arranged the internal government of his great empire, than the tranquillity with which it submitted to his generals, who partitioned it among them at his death. Seleucus having obtained the portion which was contiguous to India, was under the necessity of keeping up an intercourse with that country; and about twenty years after the death of Alexander, he led an army to the banks of the Ganges, to punish the hostilities of Sandracotta, king of the *Prasii*. This expedition appears to have advanced a considerable way, and to have been crowned with complete success, but, unfortunately, no accounts of it remain. Seleucus, being obliged to withdraw his army from this field of action, in order to meet Antigonus, a more dangerous enemy, commissioned Megasthenes to negotiate a peace with Sandracotta, and from him the Greeks derived much information relative to the interior of India. No further attempts were made by the Macedonian princes to penetrate into that country; and although the Greek kingdom of Bactria subsisted two centuries longer, and maintained some correspondence with the neighbouring states of India, no advantages appear to have accrued to science from the proximity of the Greeks to so interesting a region.

Notwithstanding that the writings of all the Greeks (Nearchus excepted) who accompanied Alexander in India have perished, the fragments which remain are sufficient to convince us that the Macedonians were attentive and sagacious observers. Their remarks derive a peculiar interest from the way in which they illustrate how little change the lapse of twenty centuries has wrought on the manners, or even on the languages, of Indian nations. It also deserves to be noticed, that the Greeks soon became acquainted with those articles of produce or manufacture which have ever since continued to be the staple articles of the Indian trade. Nearchus

observed the sugar, or honey, as he termed it, made from canes, without the assistance of bees. He also mentioned the fine-flowered cottons, rice, and perhaps silk. The Greeks became acquainted with the mode of planting rice in water, and of distilling from it the strong spirit called by the natives arrack. They knew that gold was collected in the rivers, and they learned the manner of hunting and taming the elephant. The chief peculiarities of Indian government and society appear to have been all revealed to their observation. They were aware of the division of the people into castes, that there were no intermarriages between the castes, and that trades descended from father to son. The names of the castes are not mentioned expressly by any Greek writer, but it is likely that the *Chatari* of Arrian, who occupied the country possessed by the Rajpoots at the present day, were the military caste of K'hatrees. The *pillaus* made of rice, on which the people chiefly subsisted, the custom of shampooing, that of dying the beard, the perforation of the nose, lips, and ears, the cotton turbans, the use of umbrellas, the great banyan or Indian fig-tree, under the branches of which a thousand persons may assemble, the devotion of widows to the flames, the delicate form and constitution of the natives, these, with a multitude of other particularities, amused the curious spirit of the Greeks. The philosophy of the Brahmins, and the eccentric piety of the Faqueers or Jogees, appear to have been the same then as they are now. The latter were privileged to enter every house, and even the women's apartments; they were attended by females, without the suspicion of impropriety; lived on vegetable food under banyan trees; subjected themselves to fanatical penances and disgusting tortures; and when they had at length palled the insane appetite for pain, heroically abandoned on the funeral pile the life in which they could no longer sufficiently afflict themselves. These and a thousand other extravagances, successfully employed then as well as now to win the admiration of the multitude, were viewed

with mingled astonishment and contempt by the companions of Alexander.

Megasthenes beheld all the riches and magnificence of India at the court of Sandracotta, or, as it is written by others, Sandracoptus, a corruption of *Chandra-Gupta*, one of the most distinguished names in Indian history. That prince had awakened a spirit of resistance to foreign sway, and had completely overturned the enfeebled dynasty of the *Balis* or the *Palis*, in South Bahar, who left, however, their name to the great capital of their dominions. Pliny informs us that the city *Palibothra*, as he calls it, far exceeded in wealth and magnitude the other great capitals of India, and he adds, that the same name was not only common to the city and the people, but was also given to the prince. This important observation has not met with the attention it deserves. Those who are acquainted with the East will perceive at once that a name borne alike by the city, the nation, and the ruler, must have been the name of the reigning family. The *Palibothra* then of the Greeks was unquestionably so called from the dynasty of the *Pali-putra*, that is, the *sons* or *tribe* of *Bali*, whose splendour belongs to the heroic age of India. The city *Palibothra* was situated, according to some, at the junction of the Soane and the Ganges, while others remove it to the point where the Cusa joins the latter river a little to the east of Boglipur. It was two miles broad, and extended no less than ten miles along the river, according to Megasthenes. Here the Macedonian enjoyed the best opportunities for studying the country and the people; but, unfortunately, nothing of his has been preserved except his fables, and these are obviously taken from the natives. He repeats the stories of the *Cynocephali* and of *Pygmies*, by which, no doubt, we are to understand the monkeys; for these animals, in some parts of India, frequent the pagodas in great numbers; and being protected from molestation by the superstitious opinions of the natives, they familiarly exhibit all the liveliness and ingenuity of their nature.

It is not surprising that Greeks, conversing with Hin-

doos, should be led into the belief that apes are but an inferior variety of man. The monkey tribe has good reason to complain of being calumniated as well as harshly treated by mankind. Kept in solitary confinement, to which their passionate and social temper is peculiarly ill adapted; pining away with grief and malady, they are accused of being peevish and malevolent, as if the natural disposition of the animal could be developed in so unnatural a situation. In the pagodas of Upper India, however, the monkeys are regarded not merely with indulgence but with respect. Nor is it wonderful that they should be confounded with the human species in a country, the gravest histories of which inform us, that the first great saint converted to Budhism was the king of the monkeys, and that a mimic army, composed of a hundred millions of the same nimble animals, gamboled after the great Ram to the conquest of Ceylon.

One fertile source of fable among the Greeks was the liberty they took with foreign words, which they always altered, as the Turks do at present, so as to make them significant in their own language. The significations thus arbitrarily attached to names naturally gave birth to many errors. Thus the *Atshami*, a powerful tribe on the hills near the Ganges, are called by Megasthenes the *Astomi*, or *Mouthless*, and then to explain the subsistence of these monsters he is compelled to add that they are nourished by the smell of fragrant flowers. In like manner the Greeks converted the name of *Cuta Burraca*, a high peak in the Indian Caucasus into *Koite Boreou*, i. e. *the bed of Boreas*; and the mountain of *Deranishi* they supposed to be the birth-place of *Dionusos* the Grecian Bacchus.

To Onesicratus, a companion of Megasthenes, was due the first circumstantial account of *Taprobane*, or Ceylon; and the dimensions which he assigned to that island were much nearer the truth than those of Ptolemy, 400 years later, when it was annually visited by fleets from Egypt. He remarked, that it was rich in gold and pearls; that the elephants there were of a superior de-

scription, and were trained to war, while those of the continent were employed only in labour; and that the inhabitants were called *Palæogoni*. This name, though it appears to mean *indigenous*, was unquestionably a translation of *Pali-putra*, the *sons of Bali* *; for Onesicratus, receiving his accounts from the Indians, could not fail to have heard of the Prasian emigrations, which took place from the peninsula to Ceylon, not more than a century before his time.

Diodorus relates the story of one Jambolo, a Greek merchant, who, while trading to Arabia, was taken prisoner by the Æthiopians, and after being stripped by them of all that he possessed, was placed in a boat on the coast of Africa, and turned out to sea. The wind carried him to Taprobane, where he remained seven years. It is impossible to fix the date of Jambolo's adventure, which, indeed, is generally looked upon as a fiction; but it matters not whether his relation be regarded as a novel or a history; it certainly evinces an acquaintance with the country. Jambolo remarks the slender figure of the natives, and the flexibility of their joints; their attachment to astronomy; their worship of the elements, particularly of the sun and moon; and, above all, he notes the custom of many men having one wife in common, the children being entitled to the benefit of the partnership; a custom still preserved by the Nairs of Malabar, and which, if we may believe the accounts of Paolino, existed not long since on the coasts of Ceylon. He further tells us, that the people spoke two languages; that they wrote perpendicularly, as some tribes in Sumatra do at this day; and that their written characters were only seven, but might be combined in such a way as to form twenty-eight. From the nature of these observations we are inclined to think, that however fabulous may have been the residence of Jambolo in Ceylon, his information was derived from genuine sources.

The chief argument urged against the truth of Jam-

* He might have adhered more accurately to the sense as well as sound of the original, by translating it Παλαιφήτρη, Paliphetra, the tribe of Bali.

bolo's statement, that he resided seven years in Ceylon, *is that he makes no mention of cinnamon, at present the chief produce of that island.* * *But with what justice* can this objection be made to Jambolo's relation in particular, since all the writers of antiquity are silent on the same head? and, indeed, there seems good reason to believe, that cinnamon was not grown in Ceylon so early as the second century.

The island of Taprobane (Ceylon) has been described with so many errors and diversities by ancient authors, that doubts have arisen even as to the country to which that name was applied. Some geographers maintain that the Decan, or southern peninsula of India, which was but little known to the Gangetic nations, was vaguely described to the Greeks as a distant island, and is the true Taprobane. But this monstrous supposition is overturned by the remark, that the Greeks who first visited India, and who derived all their knowledge of the country from the northern nations, erred less in their statements respecting Taprobane, than the geographers who wrote when that island was annually visited by fleets from Egypt. The magnitude of Taprobane was stated with tolerable correctness by Onesicratus; but his measures were continually increased by every succeeding writer, until at length, in the map of Ptolemy, who lived 400 years later than the Macedonian, the island had swelled to nearly twenty times its true dimensions. Taprobane is also generally represented as at a great distance from the shores of India: a distance of six days' sail is mentioned by Arrian, who probably meant to reckon from Nelkynda, the great shipping port of Malabar; but all other ancient writers extend the voyage to a much greater length.

These incongruities are, for the most part, capable of satisfactory explanation. It is known that Ceylon was invaded by the Gangetic nations about two centuries before the Macedonians entered India; and that it was subsequently colonised by the *Prasii* from Bahar, a part

* Vincent's Periplus of the Erythræan.

of the great empire of the Pali-putra. The *Pali-putra*, therefore, or *Palæogoni* as Megasthenes calls them, of that island, naturally maintained a connection with the parent state, while yet wholly unacquainted with the nations of the Decan. Hence it was, that the Macedonians, at the court of Sandracotta, could learn many genuine particulars of Taprobane, while later writers, collecting their information from Arabian merchants and ignorant navigators, were constantly duped with gross fabrications. A comparison of the names of places on the northern coast of Ceylon, with those at the mouth of the Kistna (the *Mæsolus* of the ancients), will make it evident that this tract of country formed the channel of communication between the kindred tribes of the Ganges and of Taprobane. In the reign of the emperor Claudius, the king of Taprobane sent ambassadors to Rome, the chief of whom was Rachias (perhaps a *Raja*). He stated that his country was situated at the distance of twenty days' sail from the country of the *Prasii* on the Ganges. While the natives thus continued to reckon their distance only from that part of the continent with which they maintained an intercourse, the geographers of the west remained ignorant of the circumstance, that a boat may be rowed from the north-western point of Ceylon to the mainland in five or six hours. The trade of Taprobane appears to have been considerable. The vessels destined for the golden Chersonese, or Sumatra, rendezvoused in its ports. The exportation of elephants to the Calingas, was carried on in the first century in precisely the same manner as at the present day. Nay, those southern islanders, whom the Greeks called *Antichthones*, or antipodes, took a part even in the trade carried on with the *Seres* through the north of India. The father of Rachias had accompanied one of those caravans, and had particularly noticed a race of men inhabiting the valleys of the Paropamisus, who were of great size, with fair complexions and blue eyes. * Later travellers have likewise had glimpses, on

* Pliny

the northern frontiers of India, of those German features, but there is nothing yet known with certainty of the tribe to which they properly belong.*

With respect to the ancient names of Ceylon, it appears that the title *Sinhala*, the land of lions, from which the modern name is derived, was known in northern India at least six centuries before our era. † The origin of the name *Taprobane* is not so evident. In ancient Pali writings, however, the island is called *Tâmbapannaya*, a word corresponding with the Sanscrit *Tâmbaparna*, the betel-leaf; of this last expression the Greeks may possibly have made Taprobane. The next name, in order of time, by which Ceylon was known to the Greeks, was *Palæsimundus*, which appears to have been in use in the time of Arrian. Ptolemy, however, venturing with the shallow expertness of Greek etymologers to interpret the name, has diminished it by two syllables: for as the dissyllable *Palai* is, in Greek, an adverb, signifying *formerly*, he confidently states that Taprobane (in his time called *Salike*, an evident approximation to *Ceylon*) was *formerly* called *Simundus*. This gross error of the Alexandrian has nevertheless been adopted by some eminent modern writers. ‡

The advantages which Alexander proposed to derive from a communication with India were not lost sight of by his successors in Egypt. The commerce of this country soon began to flourish under the enlightened administration of the Ptolemies: ships, trading with the East, landed their cargoes at the port of Berenice in the Red Sea; the goods were then transported by caravans to Coptus on the banks of the Nile, whence, by the aid of canals, they arrived at Alexandria, which thus became, and continued for ages to be, the centre of a most lucrative trade.

The progress of geographical knowledge is intimately

* Matth Riccius, de Christ. exped apud Sinas. Colon. Agripp 1684 p 606

† Wilson's Hist of Cashmeer, As Res xv

‡ Burnouf Journ Asiat. viii Compare Marcianus Heracleota and Arrian in Hudson Pliny The name Palæsimundus admits of a natural, though only conjectural, explanation

connected with the interests of commerce. The love of gain can overcome the strongest impediments that exist to the intercourse of nations, and effects more than conquering armies can do by the permanence of its operation. The great concourse of strangers who resorted to Alexandria for the sake of traffic, prompted the study of geography. The great library of that city contained the writings of the Phœnicians, which had been brought from Tyre, and the journals of the Macedonian officers who accompanied Alexander; so that it is not surprising that among the men of science of whom the ancient Alexandria could boast, the geographers should have been the most distinguished. The writings, indeed, of very few of them have been preserved, but the fragments which remain are sufficient to prove the unremitting advancement of the knowledge of the earth.

Eratosthenes, the president of the Alexandrian library, who died in the year 194 B. C., was honoured by his contemporaries with the title of *Surveyor of the Earth*, and was held in the highest estimation by all succeeding geographers. His knowledge of the Nile reached as far as that of Herodotus, and was much more accurate, for he distinguishes clearly the Bahr al Abiad or true *Nile* coming from the west, the *Astapus* or Abawi, which is the Nile of Abyssinia, and the *Astaboras* or Tacazze. Eratosthenes had collected some information respecting the eastern coast of Africa from one Timosthenus, whose voyages extended as far as *Cerne*, an island of which it is impossible to fix the position. He also mentioned *India* and *Thinæ*, and thought the latter ill placed on former maps. But the great merit of Eratosthenes was that he introduced into geography a uniform system, and the art of fixing positions. He held that the earth was a sphere, and that the great extent of the western ocean alone could hinder ships from sailing to India by the west. He was the first who used parallels, and fixed the latitude of places in his maps.

While Eratosthenes devoted himself to the science of

geography, Agatharchides (who was about twenty years younger) cultivated with no less success the descriptive department of that branch of knowledge. He also was a president of the Alexandrian library, and knew so well how to employ the rich materials contained in that noble collection, that his writings appear to have been the chief source from which succeeding geographers drew their information till the age of Ptolemy. From Agatharchides we have the first authentic account of the countries to the south of Egypt. He describes the Abyssinian customs of hamstringing wild elephants, and of eating the raw flesh cut from them while alive. He mentions the stinging fly, the scourge of the country; the locusts used as food, the troglodytes, the rhinoceros, the camelopard, the hyæna, and a multitude of other particulars which show how little those countries have changed in moral or physical circumstances for the last two thousand years Agatharchides gives also a curious account of the gold mines worked by the Ptolemies on the coast of the Red Sea; of the sufferings of the miners, and of the copper tools found in deep galleries supposed to have been opened by the ancient Egyptians. This last circumstance must recall to mind the antiquities found in the mines of Ireland and Wales, in situations, too, where they were least to be expected, as, for example, in the coal mine of Fair Head, at the north-eastern extremity of Ireland.

The trade which Egypt, under the Ptolemies, carried on with Southern Africa was confined to the importation of elephants, and reached but a little way along the coast. The communication with India, on the other hand, was growing every day more frequent and more profitable; but it appears to have been chiefly carried on by the intervention of the Arabians. Agatharchides paints in glowing colours the wealth and luxury of the *Sabæans* (the inhabitants of the modern Yemen); and the account which he gives of the riches accruing to them from the carrying trade between Egypt and India is heightened rather than moderated by succeeding

writers. The Arabians sailed in large vessels; planted colonies in eligible situations for trade, and fortified their establishments, as was done by the Portugueze many centuries later. The robustness of the Sabæans is noticed by Agatharchides, who thus justifies that expression of the prophet Isaiah,—"The Sabæans, men of stature."

On the South-eastern coast of Africa the Arabian geographers placed an island called *Cerne* just as the Carthaginians had a *Cerne* on the western side, and for the same reason, because it was the *end* (in Phœnician *Chernau* *) of their discoveries. This double island of Cerne was by some thought fabulous, and was instrumental in creating a belief that Africa had been circumnavigated. Thus, when Eudoxus was said to have sailed from Gades to Cerne, inattentive observers might have confounded the western with the eastern island of that name, and thus be misled into the opinion that he had actually reached the eastern seas. †

India and Arabia were looked upon by the ancients as countries overflowing with riches.‡ The only communication with those happy regions was through Alexandria, which was become the seat of learning as well as the centre of a great commerce; so that every enterprising spirit, all, in short, who longed for adventure or for gain, naturally resorted to the capital of the Ptolemies. Nor in the midst of the activity created by by the eastern trade was the circumnavigation of Africa wholly forgotten. The traditions which attested that achievement were still believed by many, notwithstanding that the men of science and systematic geographers smiled at the credulity of those who thought it possible to approach the burning regions of the torrid zone. Strabo, who believed that the equator was unapproachable, from its excessive heat, while citing the arguments of Posidonius of Rhodes, an advocate of the contrary opinion, relates, from that

* Bochart. † Pliny. Mela.

‡ Intactis opulentior
Thesauris Arabum et divitis Indiæ.
HORACE, Lib iii Od xxiv
Icci, beatis nunc Arabum invides gazis Id Lib. i. Od. xxix

writer, the courageous efforts of an adventurer of no ordinary stamp.

Eudoxus of Cyzicus, a man of some learning, and enthusiastically devoted to geographical researches, visited Egypt in the reign of Euergetes II. (146—117 B. C.), and had some conferences with that prince and his ministers respecting the navigation of the Nile towards its source. It happened, about the same time, that an Indian was found expiring with hunger in a boat on the shores of the Red Sea: he was brought to court and carefully treated; and, having learned a little Greek, he related how he had set sail from India, lost sight of land, and not knowing whither the wind was driving him, arrived at last at the spot where he had been found, after all his companions had perished with famine. He also promised, if a vessel were equipped to carry him back to India, to pilot it himself, and to teach the course to persons appointed for that purpose. The offer was accepted:— Eudoxus was one of those appointed to receive the instructions of the Indian pilot; and he managed matters so well that he returned to Egypt with a rich cargo of spices and precious stones: all which, however, the king seized, not from an unjust caprice, apparently, but as the legal monopoliser of the eastern trade.

The successor of Euergetes despatched Eudoxus on a second adventure with a freight of valuable commodities. On his return, he was forced by the winds to the coast of Æthiopia, where he found on the shore, among other fragments of ship-timber brought together by the waves, the prow of a vessel with the figure of a horse, carved as a cutwater, upon it; this he took with him as a curiosity, believing it to have come from the West.

On his arrival in Egypt, Eudoxus was again stripped of all his gains, and what was worse, he was utterly disgraced, being convicted of an attempt to convert to his own profit the merchandise committed to his charge. The ship-timbers found on the coast of Æthiopia were exposed in the market-place of Alexandria, and were

recognised by the pilots collected there as belonging to a vessel from Gades. The great merchants of that city had large ships, but the poorer sort had small barks which they called *horses*, from the figure of a horse carved upon the prow : these were employed in the fisheries along the coasts of Mauritania as far as the river Lixus. Some of the pilots even thought that they could recognise in those fragments the remains of a particular vessel, which having ventured beyond the Lixus was never afterwards heard of.

Eudoxus concluded, from all these circumstances, that it was possible to make the circuit of Africa by sea ; but having no further hope of finding encouragement at the court of Alexandria, he embarked with all that he possessed ; visiting all the towns on the coasts of the Mediterranean, from Dicearchia near Naples to Marseilles, and thence to Gades, proclaiming every where his project of sailing to India by the ocean, and collecting money or associates among those whose imaginations were captivated by the boldness of the enterprize. Having at length succeeded in equipping three vessels, one large and two of smaller size, and in embarking a large company, comprising slaves skilled in music, physicians, and artisans of every description, he set sail for India with favourable winds. But he had not sailed far before his companions grew weary of the sea, and forced him to run ashore. Here the accident occurred which Eudoxus had foreseen : the large vessel was left aground when the tide retired, and in such a situation as to sustain irreparable injury : the cargo, however, was saved, and with the timbers of the wreck they built a third bark as large as a fifty-oared galley. Eudoxus then resumed his course, and came at length to a coast, the inhabitants of which appeared to him to speak the same language as the Æthiopians on the eastern side of Africa.

Renouncing for this time his intention of reaching India, he returned to Mauritania, sold his vessels and repaired to the court of king Bocthus, whom he wished to prevail upon to send a fleet to the countries of the

southern Æthiopians. But that prince prudently declined cultivating the acquaintance of barbarous nations, whose neighbourhood might prove troublesome if they once found their way into his dominions.

Eudoxus having learned, moreover, that it was the design of the Mauritanians, under the pretence of entering into his plan, to leave him to perish on some desert island, made his escape into the Roman province, whence he returned to Spain. Here he contrived to fit out another armament consisting of two vessels, one of fifty oars, the other smaller and flat-bottomed to examine the shores. He embarked instruments of agriculture, seeds and grain of various kinds, and once more put to sea, resolved to winter on some island along the coast, sow the grain, and having gathered the harvest, to pursue his voyage till he reached India. This is all that Posidonius could learn of the adventures of Eudoxus, who probably perished the victim of his hardihood; for as to his sailing round Africa from the Arabian Gulf to Gades, as related by Mela, this is obviously a fiction.

Some of the learned refuse to give any credit to the voyages of Eudoxus: they regard him as a madman and an impostor, and appeal, rather unadvisedly, in support of their opinion, to the authority of Strabo and other ancient writers, who looked upon the circumnavigation of Africa as absolutely impossible. There are some, on the other hand, who magnify his merits with as little reserve: they affect to consider him as a philosopher and hero, struggling against the rapacity of kings, the prejudices of his age, and the obstacles opposed by nature to the extension of knowledge. But, perhaps, the just estimation of his character lies between those extremes. He was evidently a man who possessed more courage than probity, and little scrupulous as to the manner in which he was embarked in the enterprises towards which he was impelled by the restless activity of his spirit. He had tasted the advantages of the trade with India, and when forced to leave Egypt, in consequence of his misconduct, he resolved to attain his ends without the con-

sent of the Ptolemies, and to arrive at the East by the circumnavigation of Africa. When in the fifteenth century the communication with India through the Levant was interrupted by the Turks, European nations repeated the efforts of Eudoxus under the influence of similar motives; and adventurers, not inferior to the Greek in levity and boldness, sported in the same manner with the avidity of human nature, and equipped new expeditions at the expense of the credulous in search of western Eldorados.

CHAP. VI.

THE GREEKS CONTINUED.

THE ROMAN CONQUESTS — STRABO — HIS KNOWLEDGE OF THE WEST. — THE TURDETANI IN SPAIN. — ANTHROPOPHAGI IN IRELAND. — THE SARMATIANS. — THE SINDS OR INDIANS ON THE BOSPHORUS — THE SIGYNI. — THE GIPSIES. — INDIANS IN LYCIA. — NATIONS OF THE CAUCASUS. — THE CASPIAN SEA SUPPOSED TO JOIN THE OCEAN. — EXPEDITIONS OF ÆLIUS GALLUS INTO ARABIA AND ÆTHIOPIA. — HABITABLE AND UNINHABITABLE ZONES — OBSTINATE INCREDULITY OF STRABO. — BRITAIN VISITED BY CÆSAR. — ITS POPULATION — THE ROMANS REACH THE BALTIC. — THE CIMBRI. — SCANDINAVIA AND NORWAY MENTIONED BY PLINY. — TACITUS NAMES THE SWEDES. — THE ARIMPHÆI. — GRAND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NORTHERN NATIONS — MARCH OF CORNELIUS BALBUS INTO THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA. — AND OF SUETONIUS PAULINUS ACROSS MOUNT ATLAS. — KING JUBA'S ACCOUNT OF THE NILE AND NIGER. — THE FORTUNATE ISLES. — VARIOUS STATEMENTS RECONCILED.

But the schemes of Eudoxus might have been renewed; the monopoly enjoyed by Egypt might have incited cities and not individuals to attempt opening the passage through the ocean to the East; and the discovery of Vasco de Gama might have been anticipated many centuries before by some citizen of Gades, if the course of political events had not put an end to all clashing of interests among the civilised states of the western world. The conquests of the Romans expended nearly over

every country of which they had any knowledge:—from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf, from Britain to Egypt, no sway was acknowledged but that of the imperial city. The jealousies engendered by separate interests were soon forgotten in the security of the empire; and the active cares of an enlightened government left the provinces little room to regret their turbulent independence. Egypt, the seat of the rich India trade, was made an imperial province; that is to say, it was administered under the immediate control of the emperor, without whose permission no Roman was allowed to enter that country, to hold property in land within it, or in any way to interfere with the rights of the natives. This cautious system saved that rich country from the spoliations to be apprehended from a succession of greedy governors, and from disturbances which might have diverted into other channels the trade with India. The monopoly, so carefully guarded by the emperors, was the more easily acquiesced in by the Roman world, as it was freed from the capricious vexations of delegated power.

If the magnitude of Roman dominion, absorbing within its vortex all national rivalries, tended, in some measure, to repress the spirit of maritime enterprise; the armies of Rome, on the other hand, often opened countries to the knowledge of the geographer, which the unprotected merchant could hardly have dared to penetrate. The campaigns of the Scipios and of Scaurus, in Spain and in Numidia; the expeditions of Ælius Gallus into Arabia and Æthiopia; the war with Mithridates, in which Pompey led the Roman legions to the Caspian Sea, and ascended, we are told, the very summit of the Caucasus, which had witnessed the punishment of Prometheus; these expeditions led to an intimate acquaintance with countries previously but little known. But the most important accessions made by the Romans to geography were in the North: Julius Cæsar totally subdued Gaul, advanced a considerable way into Britain, and wrote a perspicuous account of those countries, which has fortunately remained to posterity.

Yet, although some progress was certainly made in exploring this quarter of the world (for neither Gaul nor Britain appear to have been known to Herodotus), geography gained more in certainty than extent from the victories of the Romans. The limits which circumscribed the obscure indications ot early writers were examined and freed from fable, but little advancement was made beyond them.' The cautious temper resulting from the rapid influx of accurate information is strikingly manifest in the Roman writers. To Strabo we are indebted for a work which enables us to appreciate the geography of the Augustan age: a brief review of that work will suffice to show how little the knowledge of the earth had been improved by the most polished nations of antiquity in the course of four hundred years.

Strabo supposed the Pyrennees to run north and south, and the coast of Spain, commencing at Cape St. Vincent, to form nearly a right line with that of Gaul. From this latter country he cut off the projecting province of Britanny, so as to diminish the whole by at least one third of its just dimensions. Britain is described by him as a triangle, one angle of which approaches Gaul, while another points towards Spain. This account of Britain is borrowed from Cæsar; but it is not easy to explain why Strabo should reject the same excellent authority in speaking of Ireland, which he places not to the west but to the north of Britain. The *Cassiterides*, or tin islands, he says, are in the sea to the north of the *Artabri*, that is, of the western Galicians. There is reason to suspect that Strabo, whose nationality is apparent, was disposed to under-rate the value of Latin writers; how could he otherwise have described Britain as not worth the conquest, and Ireland as a barren country, wrapped in eternal snows, and inhabited by *Anthropophagi.*

His account of the *Turti* or *Turdetani*, the ancient inhabitants of Andalusia, in the south of Spain, is in the highest degree curious and instructive: they were truly the Tartessian people; for the territorial name *Tartessus* was evidently of older date than the settlements of the Car-

thaginians on the coasts of Spain. When first visited by this latter people, their wealth was so great that even, their commonest utensils were said to be made of silver. In the time of Strabo, the *Turdetani* were a polished people: they had generally adopted the Latin tongue; and their own language, in which they possessed not only some literature, but also a code of laws written in verse, and said to be 6000 years old, was gradually falling into oblivion.* The religious opinions of the *Turdetani* appear to have differed essentially from those of the Greeks and Romans; for we are informed by an old writer that the inhabitants, although educated like the Greeks, yet differed from all other men in regarding life as a calamity, and rejoicing in death as the termination of a trial. This character of their superstition may very naturally suggest an eastern origin †; an opinion which is also supported by the historical tradition of the Carthaginians, that Medes, Persians, and Armenians (a general mode, perhaps, of describing the race of mankind that dwelt beyond Assyria,) had been conducted into Spain by Hercules, whence some of them passed over to the neighbouring continent of Africa.‡

Ireland is the most northern country in Strabo's map of the world. His information on the continent of Europe appears to terminate at the Elbe: the countries to the north of that river are not noticed by him. As he approaches the civilised nations in the south of Europe, his details become more accurate and more interesting; yet it is ridiculous to find in the midst of much historical and antiquarian learning some discussions as to whether Italy be a square or a triangle. Greece, he takes occasion to tell us, was in his time comparatively a waste: yet much wealth and magnificence still existed among the Greek cities of Asia Minor; in the description of

* Strabo, 157. † Philostratus in Photius.

‡ The Baron W. von Humboldt, in his essay on the original inhabitants of Spain, maintains that the Turdetani were an Iberian people, and that their language was the same as that of the other inhabitants of the peninsula. In this he is contradicted by Strabo, who says that their language was distinct. If the names *Hispalis* and *Munda* be correctly translated in the modern names *Seville* and *Ronda la veja*, it would seem more probable that the language of the Turdetani belonged to the Japhetian family.

these, and particularly of his native city Amasia, he is learnedly and laudably copious.

In Strabo's account of eastern Europe we see the fruits of past and seed of future revolutions. Immediately to the north of Hæmus were the Thracians and the Celts. Beyond these, spreading from Germany to the Tanais, were the *Basturnæ* (including the *Roxani*) to the north and east; the *Luii* or *Lygii* probably the *Lieches* or Poles of modern Europe; the *Getæ* or *Davi*, another Sclavonian tribe; and, lastly, the *Sarmatians*, who had crossed the Tanais at the instigation of Mithridates, and totally destroyed or dispersed the Scythians who were settled round the Crimea in the time of Herodotus.

The population round the *Palus Mæotis* (or *Maietis*, as Herodotus more accurately writes it, the *mother* of the Pontus,) described by ancient geographers, offers a field of curious and interesting discussion. Herodotus, it has been seen, related that the Scythians, when the Cimmerian Bosphorus was frozen over in severe winters, used to cross it on the ice with their loaded waggons to the country of the *Indians*. These *Indi* of the old historian are mentioned by later writers under the name of *Sinti*, or *Sindi*.* In vain have the commentators, startled at this mention of *Indians* settled on the frontiers of Europe, endeavoured to get rid altogether of the obnoxious expression. The names *Sindus* and *Indus* (Sind and Indoo), though, perhaps, radically distinct, are yet, in point of fact, very intimately connected in geography; and no difficulty is removed by the substitution of the one term for the other. Besides, it is expressly affirmed by a well-informed writer, that the *Sindi* were an *Indian* nation.† But even if no such direct testimony had been given, the hints that remain to us concerning their character and manners, the peculiar object of their worship, and their dissolute religious rites, would leave no doubt as to the country from which they were derived.‡

* Scylax peripl. in Hudson. Apollonius Rhodius. Strabo
† Hesychius. ‡ Steph. Bys.

The territory occupied by those *Sinds* or Indians was the fertile country round the mouth of the *Cuban*; a name which, originating in a harsh pronunciation of the Indian expression *Hypanis*, bears testimony to the existence of those ancient colonists. That the *Sindi* inhabited the country of the Hypanis, and that this river could be no other than the Cuban, is all rendered manifest by the evidence of Strabo. But the Hypanis of Herodotus (who makes no mention of the modern Cuban) was much farther to the westward: it was a western tributary of the river Dnieper; and a third river of the same name flowed into the Euxine not far from the Crimea.* The fourth Hypanis is better known in ancient geography: it is the *Biah* of our present maps; one of the great rivers of the *Penj-ab* (five rivers) which flow into the Indus on the western frontiers of India. The chief town of the *Sindi* was *Phanagoria*, on the principal branch of the river. The haven, or *Sindica portus*, is now called Sindjik, not far from Anapa. †

But as a Hypanis, a true Indian name, occurs also in ancient geography to the westward of the Borysthenes, it is requisite to examine whether there be any traces of the Sindi or a kindred tribe having spread themselves in that direction. It is impossible, in pursuing this enquiry, to avoid throwing a momentary glance on the *Sigynæ* of Herodotus, "a people resembling the Medes in apparel, and inhabiting a wild, uncultivated country to the north of the Danube. They are the only inhabitants," he continues, "of whom I have been able to receive any intelligence. Their territories extend as far as the *Veneti* on the Adriatic. It is said that they are the descendants of the Medes, which I cannot comprehend, although every thing is possible in the lapse of time. By the word *Sigyna*, the Lygurians understand

* Pliny

† *Hy-panis* signifies sacred river. The modern name Biah or Bea means *sacred*. The Persians also used to prefix to their names of rivers the syllable *veh*, which had the same signification, hence the Oxus was called *veh*. The Hy-panis of the Penj-ab was also called Hy-phasis (Arrian). The words *pawnee* and *phasee* or *pashee*, both signifying *river*, are still in use among the Gipsies and Hindoos. Marsden. Archæol. vii.

a travelling merchant." * The supposed descent of this people from the Medes is, in some measure, explained by the appearance of a people named *Sigynnii*, inhabiting the mountains of Hyrcania near the Caspian Sea.† *Sigynnæ* are also placed in the kingdom of Pontus, and at the mouth of the Danube.‡ That those travelling merchants, the *Sigynæ* of Herodotus, maintained an intercourse with the tribes on the Mæotis, may be safely concluded from the circumstance that he could trace them westward much beyond the other neighbours of the Scythians; and such an intercourse affords a fair presumption of original affinity. All that remains of the *Sinds* in history, or in local names, proves them to have been of Indian origin.

It is impossible, however, to view in conjunction the names of Sindi and Sigynæ without recalling to mind that extraordinary people, who, under the two general denominations of *Sints* and *Zigani*, (the former used in Lithuania, the other in Poland, and with slight variations in all the neighbouring countries,) constitute so numerous a body in the eastern states of Europe. The Gipsies, in short, whose derivation from Western India is now no longer disputed, and whose language, corrupted as it is, and alloyed with foreign admixture, would still be not wholly unintelligible in some provinces of Hindostan. The Persians also name them *Siseeh Hindoo*, or Black Indians. It is impossible, indeed, to connect this people, historically, with the ancient Indian colony of the Mæotis. Their own traditions (which are indeed of little value), and the late date of their appearance in Europe, are both repugnant to such an affiliation. But while mystery still enwraps the problem of their origin, it is allowable to canvass every means of its solution. It may, however, be affirmed with confidence, that the *Indian* merchants who were shipwrecked in the Baltic, and presented by the king of the Suevi to Q. Met. Celer, the proconsul of Gaul, were not carried round from India to the north of Europe by the ocean, as the ancients

* Herod. † Strabo. ‡ Apoll. Rhod. Argon. iv. Orph. Argon. 754

imagined, but were voyagers from the Mæotian colony.*

Whether the *Sinds* or Indians of the Bosphorus ever advanced southwards along the Euxine is a question impossible to determine. There were *Sints* and a *Sintic* region in Macedonia, and *Sintian* men, speaking a strange language, who inhabited Lemnos in the time of Homer. But, except their addiction to the labours of the smithy (for Lemnos was sacred to Vulcan), there is not any positive indication remaining by which they can be connected with the *Sints* of Lithuania. But in examining round the shores of the Euxine those most durable and veracious monuments of ancient history, the remnants of language preserved in local names, the *Phasis*, or as it is at present called, the *Fash*, must necessarily arrest the attention. This river, famous for its connection with Grecian fable and traditionary golden sands, flowed through the country of the *Colchi*. The word *Phasis*, signifying a river, and the name *Colchi*, are both properly of Indian origin, and stand at no great distance from each other in Ptolemy's map of India. When a Greek poet describes the Colchian Phasis as mixing its waters with the Tanais, it is evident at once that the Hypanis or some other river in that quarter may have been also called Phasis by the Sinds of the Mæotis, so that we here again detect that grand source of geographical errors, the employment of general terms.† The Colchians were supposed by the Greeks to be a colony of Egyptians. They practised rites, and possessed arts, which, unavoidably, led a people unacquainted with the interior of Asia to arive at that conclusion. Their dark complexion, also, which is noticed by Pindar, seemed to lend confirmation to the popular belief. But though the fiction of a colony planted by Sesostris on the shores of the Euxine was readily countenanced by the Egyptian priests, it is contradicted by traditions of equivalent authority. The religion of the Colchians, besides, does not seem to have been Egyptian. Their superiority above

* Mela, iii. and Plin. ii. † Orph. Argon.

the Greeks in civilisation in the time of the Argonauts and the poetic age is evinced by the reputation they enjoyed as magicians. In the manufacture of fine linen they far surpassed the Egyptians; and we know that from them the Greeks derived their names of linen cloths in commerce, *Sardonians* and *Sindons*.*

That a colony of Hindoos (of profligate manners, and, perhaps, ignoble caste,) was settled on the Cimmerian Bosphorus in the age of Herodotus, appears incontestably established; when, or how, they were dispersed, it is not so easy to conjecture. That the Gipsies are descended from them is a conclusion resting wholly on naked probabilities. But whence have these wandering outcasts the tradition that they have come from Egypt? Is it not possible that the ancient Colchians, who, there is good reason to believe, were themselves from the west of India †, assented at length to the general opinion of antiquity respecting their Egyptian origin, and when driven, perhaps, from their ancient possessions by the Iberian tribes, spread abroad among their swarthy brethren of the North the same erroneous belief?

Beyond the territory of the Sinds, on the Bosphorus, extended the *Asian* country, properly so called, inhabited by the *Aspurgitani*, or people of As-purg, and from this little Asia (which extended, perhaps, from the Cuban to the Don,) the modern name of Asoph is supposed to be derived. Besides these Hindoos of the North, (who, it is said, are distinctly mentioned by the Armenian historians,) there appears to have been also a tribe of the same overflowing nation established in Asia Minor. Xenophon is the earliest writer who makes any allusion to them; but Pliny, who says that the river Indus descends from the mountains of the *Cibyratæ* alone affords any means of determining their exact position. They occupied a district in Lycia, apparently at no great distance from the banks of the Xanthus.‡

The Caucasian isthmus appears to have been the

* Hesychius *Sardonion* quasi *Serindion*.
† Ritter's Vorhalle Europ Gesch
‡ Compare 1 Maccabees, viii. 8. Xenoph. Cyrop. v ii. iii. Pliny v.

receptacle from the earliest times of many mingled nations. The great tide of migration westward flowed through it along the shores of the Caspian Sea; and as the stragglers of the wandering hordes coveted the possession of the rich vallies near the plains, the old possessors of them were forced to retire farther into the recesses of the mountains. Hence it is that few mountain ranges can vie with the Caucasus in the number, and none in the motley character of its population. The Mithridatic war brought the Roman legions into the neighbourhood of these wild tribes, and from the officers of Pompey, Strabo probably procured his abundant information. The *Zyges* of Strabo are supposed to be the *Jiki* of the present day; but as the word *Zyg* signifies *a man* in the language of the *Cherkes* or Circassians, it is possible that they may have been a tribe of that nation whom he appears to design also by the name of *Cerketæ*. The *Soanes* are the *Tson* (or mountaineers), a wretched people inhabiting the highest vallies of Elbruz. The *Iberians*, divided into castes, possessed the modern Georgia; and their mountain neighbours, the fierce *Legæ*, resembled in manners, as much as in name and situation, the *Lesgæ* of the present day.

Strabo supposes the Caspian Sea to join the northern ocean by a narrow channel; and this error seems the more unaccountable since the armies of Alexander and of Pompey had reached the shores of that sea, and might have added much information to the correct account already given of it by Herodotus. In the age of Strabo, also, there was a great trade in peltry carried on by the Romans with the nations inhabiting the Caspian Steppes. But though it is impossible to vindicate Strabo's opinion, we are justified in suspecting that the correctness of the measures assigned by Herodotus to the Caspian (which are not far from the truth at the present day) is, in a great measure, accidental; for it is the opinion of the ablest geographers that that sea is sinking rapidly; that it was formerly united to lake Aral (which the ancients are commonly supposed to

have confounded with it), and that it may have extended to the north above 125 leagues beyond its present limits.

The greatest length of Asia, according to Strabo, is 45,000 stadia, measured from *Rhodes* to *Thinæ*, the remotest point known to him in the East. But he appears to have known nothing of it but the name. If we make the most indulgent allowance to the length of his stadium, the measure which he assigns to Asia will not yet lead us beyond the commencement of the desert of Cobi, or half way across the continent. His information with regard to India was derived wholly from the writings of Nearchus, Onesicratus, and other Macedonians of Alexander's age. He does not even appear to have seen the history of Seleucus's expedition into the country of the Ganges. The attempt made by Ælius Gallus, in the reign of Augustus, to penetrate into the peninsula of Arabia, and to reduce its wandering tribes to obedience, contributed nothing to geography. That ill-devised and ill-executed enterprise terminated in a disgraceful retreat, in which the greater part of the Roman army perished, not by the sword, but by the hardships of the desert. The same general, who was an intimate friend of Strabo, also sent an army into Æthiopia, but no detailed account of its marches or proceedings remains to us. The knowledge of the interior of Africa had not increased since the time of Herodotus; at least Strabo observes that the Romans possessed nearly all of that continent that was not either desert or uninhabitable by reason of the excessive heat.

Thus it appears that Strabo disbelieved the relations of Pytheas, Hanno, and Eudoxus, and rejected in a great measure the authority of Herodotus. He remained consequently in wilful ignorance of the countries near the Baltic; of the western coast of Africa, beyond the Lixus, where his information terminates; and of the interior of the same continent. Nor was this wary mistrust of preceding writers so much the result of a cautious spirit as of an attachment to system. Strabo was one of those who maintained that the earth was

divided into five zones, of which the torrid zone, placed under the equator and extending on both sides to the tropics, was burned up by unremitting heats, insupportable to the human constitution. The frigid zones, situated near the poles, were equally desolate, from the opposite extreme of cold; in the temperate zones alone, occupying the space between the frigid zones and the tropics, were the ardours of summer and chills of winter sufficiently mitigated or blended, to admit of the existence of man and the grateful luxuriance of vegetation. Within the temperate zone, therefore, the attention of the rational geographer was confined by the laws of nature. Though this system presented itself naturally enough to the Greek or Italian who saw on one hand the perpetual snows of Hæmus and the Alps, and on the other the burning sands of Libya, yet those limits once passed, it was obviously untenable; nor must we suppose that a doctrine so ill founded ever obtained such a currency in antiquity as to operate in repressing the spirit of enquiry, however it might be favoured by those weak and timid spirits, who labour unceasingly to fix limits to legitimate curiosity.

The extent of the earth embraced in the geography of Strabo does not materially exceed that which was known to Herodotus four centuries earlier. In some quarters, as in Africa and beyond the Caspian, the early Greek historian is superior; but in the minuteness of his details the writer of the Augustan age has greatly the advantage. The Roman power had opened the way into countries hitherto inaccessible. But this partial improvement cannot prevent our surprise when we contrast the geography of that age with its literary cultivation, or compare the polish and fine taste of Horace and Virgil with their ignorance of the earth. The former of these speaks of Britain and of the Tanais as of the ends of the earth; but the learned Virgil * commits a more positive error, when he supposes the Nile to flow from India. When the literary cultivation of Rome

* Virg. Georg iv. 293. "Usque coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis." See also Lucan x. v. 292.

was at its greatest height, it was thought to constitute a right to fame to have travelled to the remote boundaries of the empire. But the increased intercourse of the Romans, under the first Cæsars, with the nations of the North, opened to view a new and attractive spectacle. The antiquarian humour of Strabo, minute in treating of monuments, and superficial when he spoke of nations, gave way to minds of a grandeur better proportioned to the objects of consideration. The writings of Dionysius Periegetes, and of Pomponius Mela, who both flourished in the first century of our era, may be passed in silence: they copied from others, and added nothing new to the information already possessed. The learning of Pliny and the philosophy of Tacitus are more worthy of our attention.

The expedition of Julius Cæsar had made known only the extremity of Britain. Under the emperor Claudius that island was effectually subdued by the legions which, at first, reluctantly permitted themselves to be led to what they designated *a new world*. Thirty years later, Pliny was acquainted with the *Ebudes*, or western isles of Scotland, and even with the names of several of the group. At length Agricola extended the Roman conquests to the Grampian hills, and a fleet, by his orders, sailed northwards, to discover how far the land extended in that direction. "This fleet," says Tacitus, "first ascertained that Britain is an island; it discovered also and subjected the *Orcades*, a cluster of islands not known before, and saw *Thule*, hitherto concealed by snow and winter." The Romans regarded Britain as we do New Holland; its remoteness, its immense size, so far exceeding that of any island with which they were distinctly acquainted, and the great ocean which washed its shores, forcibly struck their imaginations. They had, however, a very inaccurate idea of its geographical position. Tacitus, the son-in-law of Agricola, describes it as having Germany on the east, Gaul on the south, and Spain on the west. Ireland is placed, by the same writer, midway between Spain and Britain. Agricola

was preparing to invade that island, which some of the natives assured him might be effectually subdued with a single legion, when the jealousy of Domitian arrested his operations, and Ireland was unfortunately rescued from the civilising yoke of Roman dominion.

When Julius Cæsar first visited Britain, he found the maritime provinces possessed by a people of Germanic race, whom he supposed, and, perhaps, not without reason, to be Belgians. The population was remarkably dense; the dwellings of the people were strewed thickly over the face of the country, and cattle were abundant. Merchants in numbers visited the island; but so great in those days was insular jealousy in Britain, that strangers durst not venture thither who had not evidently the excuse of traffic. The Gauls, it appears, had but little acquaintance with the island; whence it may be concluded that the merchants were chiefly of the Belgian or German race. To the inaccuracy of reports, in the dictation of which the superstition of the Gauls may have had some share, ought, perhaps, to be attributed the error of Cæsar in describing Great Britain as an island of a triangular form. Tacitus remarked the close resemblance that existed between the dialect of the Estiones on the shore of the Baltic and that of the British islanders. The Caledonians also were known to be of German descent, by their great size, their florid complexions, and keen grey eyes. The same vigilant observer remarked, that the inhabitants of the south-western angle of the island (the *Silures*) had dark, adust visages, with curled hair; but instead of concluding that the emigration of a stronger race from the East had forced the prior inhabitants of the island into the recesses of its western mountains, he adopted the weak hypothesis, so often repeated since by modern writers upon Ireland, of a colony direct from Spain.

From Tacitus also we learn that merchants frequented the ports of Ireland, the superiority of which was already known. But with whom did the merchants carry on a trade? Was the Celtic population sufficiently

civilised to feel the wants and benefits of commerce? This is hardly credible; but when the historian proceeds to observe that Hibernia differs but little from Britain in soil or population, the inference is natural, that long before his time a colony of the German race had also forced its way into that island. There is not, however, any direct evidence to support this conjecture, besides that of the native historians. Ptolemy, it is true, about half a century later, places a Belgian colony (the *Menapii*) in Ireland; but the statement of the geographer affords no means of ascertaining the date of their arrival. Thus much, however, may be affirmed with safety, that so far back as authentic history lends its light, the Germanic race has predominated in the British islands.*

The journey of the Roman knight Julianus from Pannonia to the country of the yellow amber made known to the Romans the coasts of the Baltic, in the neighbourhood of the Vistula, while they as yet remained in ignorance of the Oder and other rivers westward as far as the Elbe. The *Guttalus* of Pliny appears to be the Pregel, and took its name probably from the *Guddai*, the ancient inhabitants of Prussia, and the *Guddones* of Pytheas. Beyond this Tacitus places the *Fenni*, who are also mentioned by Strabo under the name of *Zoumi*; a name not differing much from that of *Suome*, which the Fens give themselves. The philosophic historian describes with brevity, but emphatically, the utter barbarism of this people, "without arms, without horses, and without household gods; their food, herbs; skins, their clothing; their bed, the ground: men and women alike supported by the chase; the children, for shelter and security, hidden in the boughs of trees; which are at once the cradle of the young and the resting-place of the old." On the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea were the *Æstyi*,

* If the Belgians translated (as it is natural to suppose they did) the *Albion* or *Alfionn* of the Celts, if, in short, the Βρεττανικαί of the Greeks be the *Brehtan-egge* or *Brehtan eye*, *Bright islands* of the German colonists, then there is reason to conclude that the connection of the Belgians with the British islands ascends to the time of Aristotle, or the author of the book *De Mundo*, ascribed to him, in which that name for the first time occurs *Britannicæ*, in the plural, as used by Catullus, would, if this etymology be adopted, be the more correct expression. Pliny also (iv. 16) intimates as much

in manners like the Germans, but speaking a language resembling that of Britain: they worshipped the mother of the gods, in honour of whom they carried on their persons the image of a boar; a symbol so much respected as to insure the safety of its wearer, even among hostile tribes. In this account it appears that *Freya*, the Scandinavian Venus, to whom the boar (in Sanscrit Varáha) was dedicated, is confounded with *Frigga*, the mother of the gods, in the same mythology; or, perhaps, the authority of Tacitus may serve to prove that those divinities were originally the same. The *Æstyi* collected amber, to which they gave the name of *glesum* (the shining), but of which, barbarian like, observes the philosophic Roman, they were unable to explain the origin. With more poetic fancy than knowledge of nature, he supposes that precious substance to exude from trees in remote western islands, being liquefied by excessive heat in the immediate vicinity of the setting sun. The *Cimbri*, established in Jutland, or the *Cimbrian peninsula*, were reduced to a very inconsiderable tribe in the age of Tacitus, who recalls with enthusiasm the memory of their ancient victories; but they still retained their martial fame, and prided themselves in the monuments of their former glory. The name *Cimber*, we are informed, signified *a warrior*.* The country which these warriors occupied was called by them *Cartris*. On the western coast of Jutland was an island called *Glessaria*, or the amber island; whence it may be inferred that the Romans obtained some supplies of that precious commodity from the shores of the Cimbrian peninsula.

Pliny is the first writer who mentions *Scandinavia*: it appeared to him to be an island of unknown extent. The arm of the sea which separates that country from the Cimbrian peninsula, and which resembles "a great river divided into many branches," was named by him

* Plutarch and Festus *Latrones*, that is to say, *Moss-troopers*, or in the Scottish dialect, *Cumper* In the modern Danish, *Kemper* means a warrior The word *Cimber*, there is reason to believe, was originally *Cimmer* The Cimmerians of the Bosphorus, by a natural incorrectness of pronunciation, were also called Cimbrians

Sinus Codanus, that is, the gulf of the *Goth-dane*, or Goths of the plain. The island *Latris* appears to have been the modern Zealand, where Lethra was the ancient seat of the Danish kings. The mountain called *Sevo* by Pliny, and which marked the entrance of the *Sinus Codanus*, opposite to the promontory of the Cimbri, is easily recognised in Mount Sevo near Gottenburgh. But when we cross the gulf, the knowledge of the Roman author, though it reaches a considerable way, is extremely inaccurate and indistinct. When he tells us that the *Hellěviones*, a Scandinavian nation, considered their country as a separate quarter of the globe, we recognise the authenticity of his information in the coincidence of this anecdote with the language of the Icelandic sagas, which frequently call Sweden *the northern half of the world*. But when he enumerates the four islands of *Scandia*, *Dumnos*, *Bergi*, and *Nerigon*, we are no longer able to distinguish objects so vaguely described. It may be safely concluded, however, that by *Nerigon*, "a great island, the inhabitants of which sailed as far as Thule," we are to understand the modern Norway; and this is the northern limit of Pliny's geographical knowledge.

Tacitus, however, who studied rather the moral characteristics of nations than their local situations, mentions the *Sviones* (Sea-men) (a name preserved by the Swedes till the middle ages) as a nation in the ocean, strong by sea as well as by land, comparatively rich, and obeying an absolute monarch. He also takes notice of the peculiar form of their boats, resembling the northern yawls of the present day, sharp at both ends, and so light as to be easily impelled through the waves by a single pair of oars. Beyond the *Sviones*, he tells us, is another sea, languid and nearly motionless; and, that it embraces the earth may be collected from the circumstance that the light of the setting sun continues till the dawn of day with a lustre that eclipses all the stars. Moreover it is said that the noise of that luminary in its path below the ocean can be heard, and that the figures

of the gods can be distinguished, crowned with beams of light. These poetical relations of Tacitus are no ambiguous notices of the frozen ocean, and the most striking phenomena of the Aurora Borealis.

The *Arimphæi* of Pliny, a tribe inhabiting the Ural mountains, devoted to religious austerities, and looked upon as sacred by their neighbours, are evidently the *Argippæi* of Herodotus. They agree also in every circumstance of character with the *Agrispæi*, a people dwelling in Persia, according to Ctesias; nor is there any difference in the names reported by the two Greek writers, but that required by the analogy of Greek and Persian forms.

Whenever the Scythians are mentioned in the pages of an ancient writer, they are sure to be celebrated for their singular piety as much as for their numbers and martial disposition. The purity of their lives, their frequent fastings, and their tenderness towards the lower animals, were all observed with attention and respect.* The frequent occurrence of religious celibacy among the *Getæ* could hardly find credit among those Grecians who believed that religious practices are seldom cultivated without the encouragement of the female sex, and that these are not likely to recommend a life of singleness to the males.† The Scythians asserted the immortality of the soul, not as a philosophical speculation, but as a fundamental doctrine of religion. These grand traits of national character distinguished the population of the North from that of Greece and Italy, and proved the primitive integrity of its constitution. For the fertile stems of Greek and Roman civilisation sprung from the ruins of ancient systems. This characteristic piety of the Scythians is as old as Grecian history. It is loudly extolled by later writers; it is implied in the history of the Scythian Zamolxis, the friend and companion of Pythagoras; it is alluded to by Homer; and it comes forward to explain, in some measure, the character of the thrice-born Aristæus, who stands on the threshold of

* Scymni Chii fragm. † Strabo.

the age of fable. The praise of exemplary piety, uniformly bestowed by the Greek writers, from the remotest ages, on all the wandering tribes to which they gave the name of Scythians, serves to prove the original relationship of those nomad nations, and to carry back their civilisation, the simple and stationary civility, indeed, of patriarchal society, to an age anterior to that of Greece. The Scythians were also remarked by the Greeks for the fineness of their habiliments, for their loose robes, either figured or pure white, and their ornaments of gold and silver.

The knowledge of the ancients never reached sufficiently far in the North to enable them to correct their erroneous supposition regarding the insularity of Scandinavia. Ptolemy, who wrote a century later than Pliny, appears to describe the north of Europe from sources anterior to the latter writer, and makes no mention either of the *Sciones* or of the island of *Nerigon*. The acquaintance, however, of the Romans with the numerous tribes of the German nation, was daily growing more intimate: they learned to respect the determined valour of those whom they regarded as barbarians; and from the contemplation of a social system, differing widely from their own, they derived lessons far more important than mere geographical details. To become acquainted with the earth is to open a volume of varied instruction. The Greeks, in the flourishing period of their republics, contrasted with their own vigour the impotent magnificence of the Persian king: the Romans, on the other hand, when their liberty was gone, when their annals were stained by repeated examples of imperial cruelty and excess, viewed with eager admiration the uncorrupted manners of a free people. The grand features which distinguished the character and constitution of the German nation are delineated by Tacitus with the hand of a master; but these details lie beyond the compass of the present volume.

All the important acquisitions made to geography by the Roman arms were in the North; their victorious

generals, indeed, penetrated in other directions beyond the boundaries of the empire; but the accounts which remain to us of those expeditions contain but a barren catalogue of names, or descriptions totally devoid of moral interest. Of this nature is the account transmitted to us by Pliny of the march of Cornelius Balbus into the interior of Africa, an enterprise so bold and hazardous in itself, as to awaken our regret that our only knowledge of it should be derived from so inadequate a notice.

That general appears to have commenced his march from the territory of Tripoli; directing his course southward, he crossed the desert into *Phazania*, the modern Fezzan. "We have subdued," says Pliny, "*Phazania* and its two cities *Alele* and *Cillaba* (Selbat), as well as *Cydamus* (Gadamis). From *Cydamus*, a chain of mountains runs eastward, called the Black Mountains: beyond these are deserts, and afterwards *Matelgæ* or *Talga*, a town of the *Garamantes*; the celebrated fountain *Debris*, and *Garama* the capital of the nation. All these countries have been conquered by the Roman armies: Cornelius Balbus triumphed over them." The *Garama* of the Romans is evidently Germa to the south-east of Fezzan, and *Alele* probably occupied the same site as Morzouk at the present day. The *Tabidium* of Balbus, his *Tapsagum* and *Disceri*, all coincide nearly with the Taboo or Tibedoo, the Tagazi and Djezr of modern travellers. The village of *Negligemela*, in which the houses were built of salt, was probably in the salt desert of Bilma; the name itself is evidently the Arabic expression *Nedged-al-maila*, or country of salt. In the same manner the river *Nathabur* of the Romans may be supposed to have been the *Nar-Thabou*, or river of Taboo. Having crossed the Black Mountains, at present called the Mountains of *Tibesti*, Balbus entered the country of *Thube* or Tibboo. Farther on, the names of ***Boin*** and *Dannagi* seem to suggest to us (but with very faint probability) the countries of Bornou and Dongola. On the western confines of these countries terminated

the discoveries of Cornelius Balbus, who, it is evident, never crossed the desert which separates the Tibboos from the country of the Niger. Pliny also briefly alludes to the expedition of Suetonius Paulinus, who, setting out from *Lixus*, the limit of the Roman empire on the western coast of Africa, reached Mount Atlas in ten days' march, and advancing a few miles beyond it, in a desert of dark-coloured sand met a river which he supposed to be the Niger. This river was, probably, the Gyr of Segelmessa; but so great was the ignorance of the ancients with regard to the true dimensions of Africa, that they could easily suppose a connection between the Niger and the streams running southwards from Mount Atlas, which were separated from that river by the whole breadth of the Great Desert.

The very unsatisfactory account which Pliny, on the authority of king Juba, gives of the courses of the Nile and Niger, makes us regret that we do not possess the original volume of that learned Mauritanian, or rather those valuable documents from which he professed to derive his information, the Carthaginian annals. But the errors of the Roman author are not without instruction: for when Pliny informs us that the lake *Nilis*, abounding in crocodiles like the *Nile*, is situated not far from the Western Ocean; that the river flowing from it towards the east sinks into the desert, and runs for many days' journey under ground; that after emerging, and hiding itself a second time in a subterranean course, it rises at length from the source called *Nigris*, and dividing *Africa* from *Æthiopia*, takes the name of *Astapus*, one of the chief branches of the Nile: when he makes this ill-arranged statement, it is easy to perceive that the relations of the Carthaginians, who probably maintained some correspondence with the nations inhabiting the country of the Niger, were perverted by those who had no such authentic sources of information. The rivers of the interior were known to Pliny from the Carthaginian writers; but the violent hypotheses which connected them with the Nile were evidently the fruits of

a later age, when theoretical speculations predominated, and direct intercourse with the interior was at an end. It is obviously an error, therefore, to suppose with many writers, that the Roman armies penetrated to the Niger, or that they ever advanced so far southwards as the sources of the *Astapus*, or Nile of Abyssinia, which Pliny, by a singular mistake, connects with the rivers of western Africa.

It was not till a comparatively late period that the Roman geographers obtained any certain knowledge of islands in the Atlantic. Sertorius, while an exile in Spain, received an account of two islands to the west of Libya, of great fertility, and formed by nature to be the refuge of the unfortunate. In the distressful situation of his affairs such a belief was easily entertained. About twenty years later, Statius Sebosus collected at Gades all the information he could obtain respecting those western isles. King Juba, also, made enquiries respecting them, and learned the names of six. It is, at first sight, difficult to reconcile the accounts of the Roman and the Mauritanian with one another, or with that of Ptolemy; but there is still such a trace of agreement between them in their mode of arranging the islands, as leads to a complete explanation of all difficulties. The concurrence of their statements may be seen in the following table, in which the names of the islands are arranged in the order observed by the respective authors:—

Sebosus.	Juba.	Ptolemy.	Modern Name.
		Aprositos	Allegranza
Junonia	Junonia parva	Junonia	Clara
Plutalia	Ombrias	Pluitalia	Lancerote
————	Junonia	————	Lobo
Capraria	Capraria	Casperia	Forteventura.

"Beyond the *Fortunate Isles*," says Pliny, "there are others;" and of these he mentions two, *Nivaria* and *Canaria*, Teneriffe and Canary, which had been previously named by Juba, and were doubtless the *Convallis* and *Planaria* of Sebosus.

Thus it appears that the Hesperides, or Fortunate Isles, of the ancient geographers, were the most easterly of the group now called the Canaries. They are ranged in a line running parallel to the coast of Africa, and are situated about half way between the continent and the great islands, Canary and Teneriffe, which, although named, were probably never visited by the ancients.

CHAP. VII.

DISCOVERY OF THE MONSOONS.

HIPPALUS. — INCREASED TRADE WITH INDIA. — COURSE PURSUED. — PERIPLUS OF ARRIAN. — HIS ACCURATE ACCOUNT OF THE INDIAN PENINSULA.

But, towards the East, a discovery was made in the age of Pliny, by an obscure individual, of far greater importance to geography and commerce than the temporary routes laid open into barbarous countries by the hardihood and ambition of the Roman generals. The regularity of the monsoons, or periodical winds, which, in the seas between Africa and India blow during one half of the year from the south-west, and during the other from the south-east, with little deviation, could not have long escaped the attention of the Arabian navigators. No advantage, however, was taken of this striking phenomenon; for among an uncultivated people time operates slowly in maturing the details of partial experience into acknowledged principles. The Greeks, however, soon learned to estimate its importance. We have seen that the voyage of Eudoxus to India originated in the circumstance of an Indian vessel being driven upon the coast of Africa by the prevalence of the easterly monsoon: Eudoxus himself, on his return to Egypt, was forced too far to the west by the same

wind. Jambolo, on the other hand, was said to have been carried by the westerly monsoon from Africa to Ceylon; and again in the reign of the emperor Claudius, a freed-man of Annius Plocamus, employed in collecting the revenues of Arabia, was driven in like manner to the same island. It appears to have been about the same time, or perhaps a little later (A.D. 50), that Hippalus, an enlightened navigator, considering the steadiness of the periodical wind to be an invariable law of nature, ventured boldly to quit sight of land, to track an unknown course across the ocean, and confide in the steadfast favour of a rude and proverbially fickle element. The success of this experiment soon effected a complete revolution in the course of the Indian trade, which Pliny assures us was only in its infancy in his time. Vessels from Berenice, in the Red Sea, now reached *Cana*, on the southern coast of Arabia, in thirty days; and then steering across the ocean, in forty days more arrived at *Muziris*, or some other port of India, whence they set sail to return as soon as the wind shifted, so as to complete the voyage to India and back again within the twelvemonth. The gratitude of the Greeks, by a judicious compliment, gave the name of *Hippalus* to the summer, or south-western, monsoon.

The particulars of the trade with the East, and the course followed by the vessels engaged in it, are preserved to us in a short but valuable work, the Periplus of the Erythrean sea, written by one Arrian, supposed to have been a merchant of Alexandria. The age of this work cannot be positively fixed; but some of the ablest scholars are inclined to consider Arrian as a contemporary of Pliny; the Periplus, therefore, on this supposition, must be assigned to the second half of the first century of our era.

The fleets bound to India from Egypt, having passed the straits of Babelmandel, first touched at Aden, a place of commercial importance from the earliest ages. They then coasted *Arabia Felix*, as far as *Cana*, the position of which is fixed by D'Anville, merely from resemblance

of sound, at Cava Canim. It was the capital of the *Chytramotites*, the inhabitants of Hadramant, and probably stood immediately to the west of Cape Fartash, a bold projection, likely to have been the limit of the coast navigation, and to have determined the lingering mariner to stretch at once across the ocean. The ships then sailed to *Dachanabades*, (the city of the *Decan*, or *South*,) a name given by the Greeks to the whole peninsula of the Decan. The Mekran, or coast west of the Indus, does not appear to have been visited by strangers from the time of Alexander till the discoveries of the Portuguese: but the Greeks were well acquainted with the rich and populous countries to the south of that river. They knew the Gulf of the *Canti*, at present the bay of Cutch; the Sanscrit word *canta*, and the modern expression *cutch*, both signifying the *coast*. Among the chief *emporia* mentioned by Arrian were *Baryyaza* (Baroatch), in the Gulf of Cambay; *Ozene*, now called Ougein, in Malwa; and *Tagara*, the ancient and revered city of *Deoghir* (the hill of God), the ruins of which are near those of Ellore, within about four coss of the modern Aurungabad. The fine muslins and chintzes of *Tagara* were conveyed, by a journey of ten days, to *Plutana* (at present Pultaneh), and thence, in twenty days more, to *Baryyaza*, by difficult roads over steep and lofty mountains. In the account of these mountain roads we have a distinct notice of the Balagauts.

Proceeding to the south, Arrian mentions, among other places, *Kaltiene*, or the island of Bombay, which but a few centuries ago was still called Gallian. Farther to the south, the coast of Canara was infested with pirates; and this local characteristic continued unchanged, from the time of Arrian, till the middle of the last century, when the extension of the British power along the coasts of Malabar completely put an end to those maritime depredations. On the pirate coast the Greeks place *Palaipatmai*, or Balepatna, the great town, or town of Bali, and some other places, the names of which are still preserved. *Muziris*, the great mart to

which the Greek fleets steered direct from Cape Gardefui, is supposed by some to have occupied the site of the modern Mangalore, while others place it at Mizzouh. The name of the *Aii*, the ancient inhabitants of Malabar, is still preserved in that of Aycotta, near Cranganoor. Pliny places on this coast the mountain *Maleus*; hence it might be concluded that the indigenous race were named *Mal-ayes*, or *Mountaineers*, in ancient times, as they are at the present day.

At Muziris the Greek merchants met the traders from the East, and not having any occasion to proceed further along the coast, the minute accuracy of their information terminates at this point. Yet some may have occasionally ventured to navigate the seas to the eastward of the peninsula; and the reports of these, added to the relations of the natives, extended the geography of the Greeks as far as commercial intercourse existed in the East, that is, to China; for the error of those commentators must be carefully avoided, who studiously confine the knowledge of the Greeks to the countries which they actually visited, and make no allowances for hearsay information. Yet their picture of the East grows gradually more vague and imperfect as we advance from *Muziris*, until it at length terminates in names of places obviously learned at second-hand, and accompanied with such palpably erroneous indications of position as do not merit the slightest attention.

Arrian mentions Cape *Comar* (Comorin), so called from *Caumari*, the *Virgin*, and beyond it were the *Colchi*, or *Coliaci*. As these occupied a coast rendered important by the pearl-fishery, it is evident that they were situated near *Ramana-Koil*, or the temple of Ram, where the richest pearl-fishery in the world is carried on. Taprobane, or Ceylon, is described by our author as being at a distance of six days' sail from the mainland; an error which proves how little that island was resorted to by the Greeks.

Following the coast of Coromandel, we find obscurity increasing at every step; yet the Greeks were acquainted

with the river *Chabaris*, the Cavery of the present day, and the *Mæsolus*, or Kistnah, the ancient name of which is still preserved in that of Masulipatam, a town situated at its mouth. Farther to the north were the *Hippioprosopoi*, or horse-faced people (the *Aswa-muc'has* of the Hindoos), the *Macrocephali* and other monsters: these occupied the coast of Orissa, which has been in all ages the least civilised part of India. The Ganges, the greatest river of India, is next mentioned, and the Indian name *Patala*, or, as Ptolemy writes it, *Passala*, that is, *the lower region*, is correctly applied to the country round its mouth. Beyond this point Arrian gives no topographical details; but we are not justified on that account in limiting the stretch of his hearsay information. Arrian always speaks like a merchant, and carefully notes an island, situated beyond the golden Chersonese, under the rising sun; and producing the finest tortoise-shell in the world.

His account of the trade with the Chinese will be related farther on.

CHAP. VIII.

PTOLEMY.

INCREASED INTERCOURSE OF NATIONS UNDER THE ROMANS. — ADVANTAGES ENJOYED BY PTOLEMY. — APPLIES THE MEASURES OF LONGITUDE AND LATITUDE. — HIS ERRORS. — DISPLAYS AN ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE CASPIAN STEPPES. — PROGRESS WESTWARD OF THE SCYTHIAN NATIONS. — THEIR ORIGIN. — TOWNS ON THE RIVER NIGER. — PTOLEMY'S ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE EAST. — HIS FREQUENT REPETITIONS. — SUPPOSED THE CONTINENTS OF ASIA AND AFRICA TO UNITE IN THE SOUTHERN OCEAN. — THE SINÆ AND THE SERES MUST HAVE BEEN THE CHINESE. — THE SILK TRADE. — ALLUSION TO THE TATARS. — THE STONE TOWER IN THE BELURTAG. — TESTIMONIES OF THE CHINESE WRITERS. — ROMAN EMBASSY TO CHINA. — THE NAME OF SILK. — OF CHINA. — ANTIQUITY OF THE TRADE WITH CHINA. — MERITS OF PTOLEMY. — CONCLUSION.

The victories of the Romans achieved the grand project which had been first conceived by the genius of Alexander. The numerous and distant nations comprehended within the wide limits of the Roman empire communicated together as members of the same great body, and learned to estimate the advantages of mutual intercourse. The work of union was promoted by the cares of a vigilant and liberal administration. Great roads were constructed traversing the empire in all directions; a common language was diffused; and, in short, the chief obstacles, both natural and moral, to the easy and intimate correspondence of foreign nations, were either totally broken down or rendered much less insurmountable. How far the growth of the imperial power and the gradual extinction of liberty in the Roman world, was connected with the decline of literature and the arts, or whether the extension of the Roman power was conducive to the civilisation of mankind, are questions which lie beyond the compass of this work. But certain it is that the causes, whatever they were, to which we must ascribe the general declension of taste, did not

at all impede the progress of geography. This science, depending for its growth almost wholly on the accumulation of facts, continually profited from experience, unaffected by the sinister influence of political corruption; and its progress appears to have been particularly rapid between the Augustan age, when Strabo wrote, and that of the Antonines, in which Ptolemy flourished, and when the Roman empire was already on the verge of decay.

Ptolemy was born at Pelusium in Egypt in the seventieth year of the Christian era, and lived till the middle of the following century: his residence in Alexandria, at that time the centre of an immense commerce, contributed, with the other circumstances of his age, to procure him that abundance of topographical information which is so conspicuous in his writings. He professes to derive his details chiefly from the itineraries of merchants; but it is difficult at the present day to form an adequate idea of the copiousness of his materials from the few geographical treatises which have escaped the wreck of antiquity. The Romans were by no means remiss in acquiring a local knowledge or in profiting from the trade of their subject nations. It is an error to believe that that haughty people were averse to mercantile pursuits. The Latin classics make frequent allusion to the enormous wealth of the Roman merchants, and history bears testimony to their spirit of adventure. The multitude of Romans, or *Italici generis homines*, taken by Jugurtha in Zama; the hundred thousand put to death by Mithridates in Asia Minor; and the Italian merchants massacred in Gaul at *Genabum* (Orleans) a few years later, evince that the Romans were impelled abroad by the love of gain as well as of conquest.

The opportunities thus offered of acquiring geographical information were zealously cultivated by the learned of the age; and many valuable works were consulted by Ptolemy of which we must deplore the loss. A complete survey of the Roman empire was executed by order of Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus. Pliny

wrote a history of Germany; Seneca an account of India, in which (if we may judge of it from the fragments preserved in Pliny) he entered into very minute statistical details. The writings of king Juba also appear to have been rich in the fruits of geographical as well as antiquarian research. But the course of events continually opened the world more and more to examination: the wars of Trajan with the Daci; his expeditions into Parthia and Arabia, were all attended with the exploration of countries but little known before. Then the peaceful reigns of Adrian and of the Antonines, whose wise administrations reaped all the benefits of Trajan's activity. Ptolemy, whose manhood commenced with the reign of this great prince, and whose life closed in the tenth year of Antoninus Pius, had the good fortune to live in that age, which, if we were to confine our attention to the general spread of information and the activity of commerce, might, perhaps, be deemed the most prosperous and flourishing of Roman history. It is no wonder, therefore, that his geographical writings should bear abundant evidence of a more intimate acquaintance with foreign countries.

Yet it is not to his more perfect acquaintance with the earth that Ptolemy owes his reputation as a geographer, so much as to his having been the first to adopt a general system of fixing the position of places. He introduced the measures of longitude and latitude, or at least he was the first to give them celebrity and universal application. By thus fixing the multitudinous and unconnected details of geography on the basis of mathematics, he gave to the former science a unity and a solidity which it was incapable of ever attaining without that fortunate alliance. But his invention (if, to avoid discussion, we allow it to have been his,) was not one of those which startle mankind by its boldness, or which seem to anticipate the ordinary progress of ages to come. On the contrary, it was, perhaps in a higher degree than any other valuable discovery, the fruit of long experience, gathered with little effort, at the last stage of a lingering

maturity, protracted far beyond what might have been expected from the vigour of its first bloom. The scarcity of books in ancient times presented a great impediment to the advancement of science. The accumulation of knowledge was far more difficult then than at the present day. Contemporary authors were often ignorant of one another's labours, and this observation applies even to the Augustan age, and to the Alexandrian writers Hence the extremely slow developement, or the suspended vitality, as it were, so often observable in the germs of important truths among the ancients. Thales taught the sphericity of the earth, yet centuries elapsed before Eratosthenes thought of determining the relative situation of places by means of latitudes; and after that step was gained, three centuries more passed over, centuries of cultivation and general improvement, before Ptolemy made the obvious and the requisite addition of measures of longitude.

The geography of Ptolemy contains only an enumeration or catalogue of places, with the longitudes and latitudes affixed: some observations on his general method, and on the sources of his information, precede the work. Thus he furnishes materials for the construction of a map, which deserves a critical examination, not more on account of its intrinsic merits, than for the great authority it enjoyed during a long succession of ages.

As Ptolemy derived his information with respect to distances chiefly from itinerary measures, and as these from obvious causes usually exceed the truth, it is no wonder that his map of the world should exhibit enormous errors, swelling into disproportionate dimensions as we advance to the north, the south, and particularly the east. The general shape of shores is in like manner but imperfectly known to coasting navigators. The mariner who steers by the land pays little attention to the heavens: the number of curves and sinuosities which he servilely follows bewilder his calculations; and he judges of the general contour of the coast only by the relative position of the two points which mark the beginning and termination of his voyage. Hence the flatness and compression of

the coasts in the ancient maps, the reduction of projecting lands, and the corresponding gulfs; and this circumstance, as it extended into a straight line the measures of a winding course, contributed in like manner to lengthen hydrographical distances. Ptolemy was misled, therefore, by fallacies inherent in the nature of his information; and it is not necessary to suppose, with some of the learned, in order to explain his errors, that he copied maps constructed on principles of projection which he did not understand. Indeed it is hard to conceive how projected maps could be drawn without the use of parallels and meridians; and if these were employed, then there was no possibility of his committing such gross mistakes.

These observations on the general character of Ptolemy's geography will supersede the necessity of examining his details at any great length. It will suffice, in order to estimate the progress of the science, to cast a summary glance over his map, to mark the extent of his information and the magnitude of his errors. Beginning at the north-west, we find Great Britain extended by Ptolemy three degrees too far to the north, although Scotland is depressed in his map, so as to run from west to east in a direction parallel with the coast of Germany. But a great number of places are laid down by him in the British islands with a tolerable relative correctness. The principal towns, the chief rivers and headlands, are almost all mentioned by their true indigenous appellations.

In the north of Europe the knowledge of Ptolemy does not extend beyond that of his predecessors; it appears even to have been wholly derived from authorities anterior to the times of Tacitus and Pliny. He does not mention the *Sviones* or Swedes; but to the east of Jutland, or the *Cimbrian Chersonese,* he places four islands, the largest and most remote of which, called *Scania*, is evidently intended to represent Sweden; but his particulars are as usual abundant. He mentions the Danes by the name of *Daukiones,* softened from their

ancient appellation of *Daunskir* or *Daunskiøn*. He is also the first ancient writer who names the Saxons.

The course of the *Rha* or Volga is described by Ptolemy with remarkable precision. The windings of the Tanais, also, a river which Strabo supposed to flow from north to south, were well understood by the Alexandrian geographer. By correcting the erroneous opinion which supposed a communication between the ocean and the Caspian Sea, he offers another proof of the progress of geography; but instead of following Herodotus in giving this sea its greatest dimensions from north to south, he lengthens it from west to east; and this error, together with that of removing it several degrees too far to the eastward, remained on our maps till the beginning of the last century.

From the map of Ptolemy we learn the westward march of those great nations, inaccurately combined under the general name of Scythians. The Scythians of Herodotus were driven from the field of history; and the *Sarmatians*, (*noble Medes*, or *Men*,) who dwelt, in his time, to the east of the Tanais, now stretched, in sway and name at least, from that river to the Carpathian mountains. The *Alanni* inhabited the northern shores of the Euxine. These were a branch of the *Asi*, called also *Ariani*, who descended from the northern valleys of the Belurtag to overturn the Greek kingdom of Bactria, and some centuries later pressed onwards to the north. The *Getæ*, and the *Dahæ* or *Davi*, occupied the country on the lower Danube. The original seats of these latter nations were the confines of Persia, and the high lands of Bokhara. In the maps of Ptolemy their names are found to the south-eastward of the Caspian Sea. In Europe, they have disappeared in the collective body of the Sclavonian nations. Nor in the most ancient accounts of the Scythian emigrations does there appear the name of a single tribe entitled, on valid grounds, to rank as the ancestors of the Germans. The Alanni may indeed have had an original affinity with that race, but only a small portion of them penetrated into

Europe beyond the Borysthenes. The *Agathyrsi*, also, who inhabited the mountains of Transylvania in the time of Herodotus, and who are distinguished by him for their light hair, blue eyes, and apparently for their wealth, seem properly to belong to the German family; and the colonies of Saxon miners, which have been successively planted in the Carpathian mountains by the Sclavonian and Hungarian possessors of the country, favour the conjecture that the difficult and ingenious labour of mining had been always carried on there by a German people.

But the Sclavonians have always regarded the German nations as forming an allied, though separate, branch of the same great family. If, therefore, the Sclavonian tribes have flowed from the country beyond the Oxus, whence have proceeded their masculine precursors? Must their origin be sought farther back in situation as in time? Were they branches of the *Comari* and *Comani*, the *Warriors* and *Men* of the Indian Caucasus, who, together with the *Catti*, one of the six-and-thirty royal tribes of the Hindoos, have descended from their original mountain dwellings, and still preserve their ancient Scythian habits in the peninsula of *Cattiwar*? Were they the *Asi*, that giant nation of antiquity, whose dim shade seems to reach from Ceylon to Scandinavia? Were they the *Sacæ*, in fine, or the *Jits* or *Yutes*, those nomad soldiers of the Indian frontiers, whose names are equally familiar in the East and West? *

To affirm these hypothetical conjectures would be as presumptuous as to deny them. The general resemblance of language among what are called the Indo-teutonic nations, the identity of the feudal system, as it existed in its elemental freedom among the Germans and the military mountain tribes of India, the chivalrous respect shown to the female sex, a leading characteristic of the German nation, which now distinguishes the noble Rajpoots in the East †,—these and other resemblances

* Klaproth (Tabl Hist. de l'Asie) seems disposed to believe that the ancestors of the Germans were situated farther to the east, in the country afterwards occupied by the Mongols.

† Tod's Hist. of Rahjiston.

in sentiments and constitution naturally induce the supposition that the Germans were originally numbered among the Indo-Scythians, or warrior tribes of the Hindoos, at a time, perhaps, when the ruling castes of this great nation had not yet descended from their mountain dwellings to the Ganges. But can the researches of the learned establish, on a historic basis, a relationship obscured by the lapse of three thousand years? The kindred origin of the Germans and noble tribes of India neither is nor is likely to be authenticated: but a supposed affinity, recalling to mind the indelible nature of some social impressions, which seem, by their resemblance, to link together nations so widely separated in space and time, is in itself an instructive and agreeable contemplation.

Some particulars of the interior of Africa were distinctly known to Ptolemy: he is the first of the ancients who announces with certainty the existence of the river *Niger*. On the banks of this river, which he describes as flowing from west to east till it terminates in a lake, he places the towns of *Tucabath, Nigira, Gana,* and *Panagra:* these two appear to be the Ganah and Wangara of modern travellers: the claims of the two former to be Timbuctoo and Cashnah are much more questionable.

The northern coast of Africa is represented by Ptolemy nearly as a straight line; the Gulfs of the Great and Lesser Syrtis almost totally disappearing in his map. This arose from the imperfect nature of observations made by coasting navigators alluded to above. Another more important error, proceeding from the same cause, was the lengthening the Mediterranean Sea no less than *twenty* degrees beyond its true measure; and it deserves to be remarked, that this gross incorrectness also remained in all our maps till the middle of the last century. But Ptolemy's longitudinal measures continually stretched out into egregious excess in advancing towards the East, so that he places the mouth of the Ganges *forty-six* degrees to the eastward of its true position, and

thus commits an error of distance amounting to more than a thousand leagues, or the eighth part of the circumference of the globe. A voyage to India was considered by him in no other sense than as a voyage to the East; and he appears to have thought that a ship, sailing from the Indus to Cape Comorin, and thence to the Ganges, held a uniform easterly course. Hence the error of removing the mouth of the Ganges so far from its true place was naturally accompanied by the other error of totally suppressing the Indian peninsula; in place of which we find, in the map of Ptolemy, a line of coast running nearly west and east, and sufficiently indented to afford room for the indication of the numerous local positions with which he was provided.

But the most remarkable portion of Ptolemy's geography is that which treats of the countries lying to the east of the Ganges. He gives, as usual, a copious list of towns, rivers, and headlands; but it would be tedious to repeat after him the names of places, of whose position we are unable to offer a satisfactory explanation. His *Golden Chersonese* stretches to the equator; and the *pirate country*, which he places there, as well as the city of *Malayucolon*, (or *Western Malays*, in the modern language of the Indian seas,) render it probable that he intended to represent by it the island of Sumatra, the southern portion of which is the original country of that maritime people. Beyond this golden country he places the *Magnus Sinus*, or Great Gulf, which ascends as high as the latitude of the Ganges. On the eastern side of this gulf he fixes the city of *Thinæ*, immediately under the equator, and 180 degrees to the east of the Fortunate Isles: *Cattigara*, the port of Thinæ, situated eight degrees to the south of the equator, is the limit of his knowledge in this quarter; but he supposed the land to run still further to the south, and then turning westward to form a junction with the African continent; so that the known world of Ptolemy terminated towards the east and south in a *terra incognita* of indefinite extent. This idea of uniting Africa with the remote part of Asia

appears to have been borrowed from Indian geographers, who are fertile in absurdities; and the name *Hippados*, by which Ptolemy designates the sea thus inclosed, is apparently the Indian expression *Up'abdhi*, the *inferior* or inner *sea*.

But, notwithstanding the grossness of his errors, the reputation of Ptolemy as a geographer is vindicated by the abundance and general correctness of his particulars. It is quite astonishing, indeed, what a multitude of places he was acquainted with in every part of the world! and (what is more important, as indicating the sources of his information, and the brisk communication existing between foreign nations in his time,) with what accuracy he was enabled to report in general the native names: his improvement in this respect, as far as regards the names in Indian geography, is very remarkable. Thus, for example, the rivers of the Penjab, called by Arrian the *Hyphasis* and *Hydaspes*, are changed by Ptolemy into *Bipasis* and *Bidaspes*, so as to resemble more closely the Sanscrit names *Beypasha* and *Bidasta*. The *Hydraotes* and *Saranges* of other Greek writers he alters into *Rhuadis* and *Zadadrus*, in Sanscrit *Irawutti* and *Shatooder*. Similar corrections are manifest in his nomenclature of the interior and even on the coast, where, for example, he changes the *Palaipatmai* of Arrian into *Balepatna*, a true Indian name. Yet it is evident that for information respecting the shores and islands, he sometimes relied too exclusively on the local knowledge of Arabian mariners. Thus, the mountain *Galibi* in Taprobane, like the *Calpe* of the West, may be suspected of being a general expression (*Gebel*, a mountain, in Arabic,) not properly applied to any mountain in particular. The *Sabadiva* also are obviously *eastern islands*, of which it is impossible to determine the precise situation. The *Jabadiva*, however, can hardly be any other than Java: his islands of satyrs and of anthrophagi merit little attention; but the precision with which he affects to fix the number of the Maldives and Laccadives at 1378 deserves to be remarked. The copious materials

which he appears to have possessed for the geography of the Indian seas, contrasted with his grossly erroneous delineation of that quarter of the globe, illustrate the activity of commerce and navigation in the East, as compared with the progress of geographical science in the western world.

It must be admitted that the geographical work of Ptolemy, notwithstanding the reputation it enjoyed for centuries, bears few marks of ability: it is, in fact, an extremely full compilation, evidently made from authentic sources, and collecting in one view the experience of ages; but the want of acuteness in the compiler, or his disingenuous desire to hide his ignorance at the expense of truth, is discoverable in the frequent repetitions of which he is guilty. Thus, by mentioning many places twice over, he appears to be acquainted with a great extent of country on the western coast of Africa. The nations of *Numidia*, in like manner, all re-appear on the banks of the *Niger:* many of the Scythian nations, as the *Massagetæ, Comari* or *Comani, Tapuri*, &c. appear double in his map; and in the Indian seas we find his *silver* and *golden regions*, or peninsulas, accompanied by *silver* and *golden islands*, so as to satisfy in the fullest manner the ambiguous Arabic expression, (for *Gezirah*, in Arabic, signifies both a peninsula and an island,) through which he probably received his information. By the side of his *Tricadiba*, or *Trinity island*, he places a *Tricanesia*, which is but a translation of the former; and, in general, his Greek names, when found beyond the just domains of the Greek language, must be looked upon with suspicion as unnecessary intruders.

The least defensible portion of Ptolemy's geography is that which relates to the south-eastern extremity of Asia; yet it is the portion which modern learning and ingenuity have been at most pains to justify and apply. He placed *Thinæ*, as we have seen, at the borders of his hemisphere, 180 degrees from the Fortunate Islands, and immediately under the equator; the port *Cattigara*, or

*Caita-ghur**, lay eight degrees farther to the south. If those positions be sought in our maps, they will be found in the Pacific Ocean, near the group called Solomon's Islands. Yet it has been maintained, that by *Thinæ* we are to understand *Tenasserim*, according to some, or *Siam*, according to others. *Mergui*, the most northern port of the Malayan peninsula, is, at the same time, supposed to be the *Cattigara* of Ptolemy. The eminent geographers † who thus labour to contract the knowledge of Ptolemy within a narrow compass, and to cut him off from any acquaintance with the Chinese in the south, also endeavour to prove that the *Seres* of the north, from whose country silk was procured, were the inhabitants of Thibet. The excuse offered for his error in making Africa unite with eastern Asia, that his information terminated at points where these continents had a direction towards each other, is too frivolous to deserve attention. Ptolemy was evidently imbued with the love of system: like ingenious moderns, he was unable to leave any question undecided, and found it easier to adopt a Hindoo dogma than to confess his ignorance.

A review of the geographical writers who preceded Ptolemy, and of the events of his age, will clearly evince that he must have been acquainted with the Chinese, and that we must recognise as such the *Seres* and the *Sinæ*, who occupy in his map the remotest countries of the East. The earliest mention of the city *Thinæ* by a Greek writer occurs in a work ascribed to Aristotle, but evidently of a posterior age. Eratosthenes (B. C. 250) placed Thinæ at the end of the earth, on the *eastern* ocean; and it is manifest, from the context, that his knowledge of that city (or nation more properly) reached him over-land, and not through the Indian seas. But the clear, unequivocal mention of China by Arrian, the plain and sensible author of the Periplus, deserves to be given in his own words.

" Beyond the Ganges is an island in the ocean called

* The Nubian geographer uses this name.
† D'Anville. G sselin. Malte Brun.

Chryse or the Golden, under the rising sun, and at the farthest extremities of the East; it produces the finest tortoise-shell in the world. Still farther on, and towards the north, beyond the sea which bounds the country of the *Sinæ*, is the great inland city *Thinæ*, from which raw and manufactured silk is brought to Barygaza, by Bactria and the Ganges. It is extremely difficult to reach *Thinæ*, and few go there, for it lies a great way off, immediately beneath the constellation of the Lesser Bear; and its territories are said to extend to the remote sides of the Pontus and the Caspian Sea. On the frontiers of the Sinæ, however, an annual fair is held; for the *Sesatæ* (the *Tha-tas* or Tatars), a wild and uncivilised tribe, assemble there with their wives and children. This is a race of men remarkably short and clumsy, with broad faces and depressed noses. They bring for traffic bulky articles packed up in mats; and having assembled midway between their own frontiers and those of the *Sinæ*, they spread out their mats and make a great feast."

This brief relation presents some important particulars. First, the country of the *Sinæ* was bounded by the sea turning towards the north; secondly, the city *Thinæ*, the capital of this maritime country, could also be reached from the interior; next, the country of the *Sinæ* was also the *Serica*, or country from which silk was brought; and, lastly, the trade with the *Sinæ* was carried on by means of the *Sesatæ*, who were evidently of the Mongol race. There can be no doubt, then, that China was the subject of Arrian's narrative. That he should represent it as immensely distant, and even at the arctic pole, may be excused, from the consideration that the silk merchants from Barygaza must have travelled due north, at least 1500 miles, a great part of the road lying through mountains, before they reached the point whence the caravans turned westward into Little Bokhara.

The Indian merchants trading with the *Seres* (and Greeks also from Cilicia joined those caravans) rendez-

voused at a station in the mountains called *the Stone Tower*.* From this place to the capital of the Seres, was a journey of seven months, a length of time which indicates with sufficient precision, that the route must have reached at least to the borders of China. The Stone Tower is still, at the present day, a grand caravan station, as well as a general resort for pilgrims. It stands in a narrow pass of the Belur-tag, not far from the place where the sources of the Gihon and the Yergmer, flowing in opposite directions from this great chain of mountains, approach each other. The pass is ascended from the north-west: and on the left side of the road, the face of the mountain, a massy rock, is hewn into a regular form, with two rows of twenty columns each; hence the modern name of the Stone Tower is *Chasotun*, or the Forty Columns. It is an object of wonder and veneration through all the East, where it is regarded as the work of *Jins* or demons. The name, however, which this station generally bears among the merchants, is that of *Tuct Soliman*, the throne of Solomon.

But as great nations feel a reciprocal interest in their first intercourse with one another, the question of the knowledge which the Romans had of the Chinese may receive some elucidation from the annals of the latter people. By thus shifting the point of view, and inverting the process of investigation, results may frequently be obtained, which could not have rewarded the labours of a partial enquiry.

The acquaintance of the Chinese with western Asia can hardly be traced back farther than the third century before the commencement of the Christian era. We know, however, from authentic history that the city of Khotan, a Hindoo colony in Little Bokhara, paid tribute to the celestial empire in the year 130 B. C.†; and that about ten years later a Chinese general over-ran the countries of Balkh or *Bactria*, and Chorasan, and observed particularly the three roads into India. It was at this time, perhaps, (in the time of the Wouti, 187—40 B.C.)

* Ptolemy. † Abel-Remusat. Hist. de la Ville de Khotan.

that officers or governors were first sent into the country of Yu-thien, or Khotan. Again, Tai-thsou (104 B.C.) marched into *Wan*, or *Sogdiana*, where fine horses were bred from the celestial horse, whose dwelling is on the mountains. This wonderful horse is the theme of many a wild and spirited story; but the observations of the ancient Chinese historians on the *Asi*, or inhabitants of *Wan*, merit more attention. The *Asi*, it appears, were addicted to commerce, and education was much attended to among them, so that their children could read at five years old: the men wore beards, and paid great respect to the female sex.* The Parthians or Gan-sie were also remarked for their singular custom (for so it appeared to the Chinese) of writing horizontally.

In the 94th year of our era, Pan-tchao sent an officer to the Caspian Sea, with orders to attack the nations that occupied its western shores, and to open a communication with the people of *Ta-thsin*. The peculiar title of China, *Ta-thsin*, or the Great Empire, is here given to Rome. The Chinese officer, however, returned without executing his commission; for being assured by the people that it would require from three to twelve months, according to the winds, to cross the Caspian Sea, he retreated in dismay from the dangers of so great a navigation. It is probable that this expedition is alluded to by those Chinese historians who relate, that ambassadors were sent to *Ta-thsin* in the time of the second Han dynasty (from 89 to 104 P.C.). No notice is taken of the result of this embassy; but it appears that the ambassadors reported on their return, that beyond the country of the *Tao-chi* (Tadjicks or Persians) there extended a great sea, and that those who sailed on it due west arrived in one hundred days at the place where the sun sets.† From this brief review of the military expeditions of the Chinese at the commencement of our era, it appears that the author of the Periplus was justified in asserting that the empire of the *Sinæ* extended to the shores of the Caspian Sea.

* Abel-Remusat. Nouv. Mel Asiat. † Ibid

But the most remarkable circumstance in the history of the first direct intercourse between the two *Great Empires* of the East and West belongs to a somewhat later period. The Chinese historians relate, that in the ninth year of Yau-hi (166 P. C.) ambassadors arrived in their country from *Ta-thsin*, sent by *An-thun*, or Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.* This embassy, it appears, arrived in China by sea. The jealousy of the inland Asiatics, the engrossers of the great caravan-trade, rendered it perhaps dangerous for the Romans to attempt reaching that country by land. The intimate correspondence existing between the Chinese and the Bactrian nations for centuries before the time of Ptolemy, and the fact of a Roman embassy to China, which took place only sixteen years after his death, a fact implying a long previous acquaintance with that empire, render it in the highest degree improbable that Ptolemy should have been ignorant of its existence, or that he should have refused it a place in his map.

But philology as well as history lends arguments to prove that the country of the *Seres*, or silk-worms, is to be sought not in Thibet or Tartary, but in China itself. Silk, in correct Chinese, is called *se*, or *su*; but, by an ordinary vice of pronounciation, a final *r* is added, so that, on the frontiers, *se* is changed into *ser*, the identical word adopted by the Greeks. In Thibet, the name of the silk-worm is *darkou*, that of silk *gotchanghi*. It follows of necessity that the frontier provinces of China were the country of the *Seres*. The name of the nation itself deserves a brief remark. The dynasty of the *Thsin*, who gave their name to the empire, began in the third century before Christ. The word *Thsin* was altered by neighbouring nations according to the peculiarities of their alphabets or habits of pronunciation. The Hindoos pronounce it *Thin*, the Arabs *Sin*, a difference which immediately explains why we find that in the ancient geographers the city of Thinæ was always in the interior, while the Sinæ were towards the sea. Finally, the mari-

* Des Guines. Mem de l'Acad. des Insc. xxxii.

time activity of the Malays has rendered their pronunciation of the word *Chin* the prevailing one among Europeans.*

As the existence of a trade between China and western Asia, in the beginning of our era, is clearly established, it may be interesting to examine in what age it commenced. Silken garments were worn in India ten or twelve centuries before that time: they are mentioned in the most ancient Sanscrit poems.† The *medicæ vestes* of Alexander's age were made of silk; and *metaxa*, or silk, was subsequently transmitted to Italy through Assyria.‡ But which was the nation by whose agency the valuable produce of China was carried into India or to the West, in the age of Alexander, or in more ancient times? A fragment which remains to us of Ctesias (380 B. C.) clears up this difficulty in a satisfactory manner. He informs us, "that the Indians, the neighbours of the Bactrians, make journies in the golden deserts (the desert of Cobi) in troops of one or two thousand, and it is said that they do not return home from these journies till the third or fourth year." § The desert of Cobi could have merited its epithet of golden only from its opening an avenue to wealth. The Indians alluded to were probably those inhabiting the country of Khotan, (properly *Kou-stana*, breast of the earth,) a colony, perhaps, of very ancient date: that their caravans were directed to China admits of very little doubt, so that the trade between India and that country existed five centuries at least before the age of Ptolemy.

Thus the work of Ptolemy proves that geography had made great advances from the time of Strabo, but was still very imperfect in relation to the opportunities which existed for its improvement. The author himself owed his great reputation to his industry, and still more to his fortunate situation as successor to the labours of Marinus Tyrius and other eminent geographers, whose works have wholly perished. But although it is impossible to allow

* Klaproth. Journ. Asiat ii.
† Ramayuna II
‡ Suidas in v. Serica
§ Ap Elian. Hist. An iv.

Ptolemy the praise of superior genius, yet it must be admitted that his work was one of great practical importance, and that geography owes more to him for introducing a method of fixing positions than it could possibly have lost by the too implicit deference that was paid to his frequently erroneous statements.

Thus we have observed the uniform progress by which the light of mutual acquaintance spread abroad among the nations of the earth. A thousand years intervened between the ages of Homer and of Ptolemy, between the time in which the imagination of the venerable bard placed the gates of death, the elysian paradise, and the whole mythic world, apparently at no great distance from the actual site of Italy; to that in which the geographer of Alexandria stated, in longitudes and latitudes, the position of almost every place of importance from the western extremity of Europe to the borders of China. But a vast extent of territory, to the east and north of Asia and of Europe still remained unexplored, peopled by fierce, unsettled hordes, and pregnant with danger to the decaying empire. As the historians and geographers of the later age of Rome gradually raise the veil which covered the stern features of northern society, it is impossible not to foresee the dangers likely to ensue from the mature strength of so vigorous a frame. The storm at length broke: desolating myriads, from the north and east, poured in upon the Roman empire; the unity of power and civilisation was at an end; the intercourse of commerce was broken up and suspended, the light of letters became gradually extinct, and darkness once more overspread the western world.

CHAP. IX.

ON THE COMMERCE OF THE ANCIENTS.

CONNECTION BETWEEN COMMERCE AND GEOGRAPHY. — TRADE WITH INDIA IN THE HANDS OF THE ARABIANS. — THEIR WEALTH AND LUXURY. — CINNAMON. — IGNORANCE AS TO THE COUNTRY WHICH PRODUCED IT. — KNOWN TO MOSES. — SUPPOSED TO GROW IN ARABIA AND IN AFRICA. — PLINY'S ACCOUNT. — ANTIQUITY OF TRADE IN THE EASTERN SEAS. — PIRATE NATIONS OF THE EAST. — PRODUCTIONS OF THE MOLUCCAS MENTIONED BY PLAUTUS. — EARLY COMMERCE OF THE PHŒNICIANS EXAMINED. — TIN BROUGHT TO EGYPT FROM INDIA. — THE CASSITERIDES NEVER KNOWN. — DIRECT TRADE BETWEEN PHŒNICIA AND THE WEST IMPROBABLE. — CARTHAGE. — NEVER AIMED AT A DISTANT CARRYING TRADE. — AMBER. — BROUGHT TO GREECE FROM THE ADRIATIC. — MYTHICAL CONNECTION OF THE ERIDANUS AND AMBER. — TRADE IN EUROPE. — CONCLUSION.

The history of commerce is intimately connected with that of geography; for the wants and desires of mankind, which require the agency of the merchant, are the most uniform and efficient incentives to the correspondence of nations. The traffic carried on between distant countries in early times, the commodities of use or luxury imported or sent abroad, are often much more easily detected than the extent of geographical knowledge possessed by either of the parties. In a scientific age the acquaintance with the earth's surface possesses an interest independent of its practical advantages; but in the early stages of society the different regions of the globe attracted attention chiefly as they promised to yield a quick harvest of wealth and treasure. The most important commerce in ancient times was that carried on with India; and it is that also which has been most frequently mentioned in the course of the preceding pages. If all the authentic circumstances of that great trade be minutely traced backward, they will be found rich in results calculated to elucidate the progress of dis-

covery in the East, and may lend even some light to assist us in investigating the more dubious intercourse of western nations.

Pliny informs us, that in his time the navigation to India was only in its infancy; and a comparison of all the accounts remaining to us respecting the commerce of the ancients with the East leads to the conclusion, that before the discovery of the monsoons by Hippalus the direct trade with India was wholly in the hands of the Arabians. The fleets of the Ptolemies sailed to the ports of *Arabia Felix*, where they met the Arabian ships laden with the precious cargoes of the East. Single Greek vessels may, indeed, have occasionally visited the country whence so much wealth was poured into Europe; but that a direct trade did not exist between India and Egypt until the discovery of the monsoons obviated the necessity of proceeding by the Arabian coast: that the Arabians enjoyed a monopoly with respect to Egypt, and Egypt with respect to Europe, are facts proved by indisputable evidence

That the Greeks of Egypt should so long permit the petty princes of Arabia to intercept a large portion of their profit was the necessary consequence of the imperfect navigation of antiquity. The navigator, so long as from the imperfection of his art he is afraid to venture out of sight of land, is constantly at the mercy of those whose coast he follows. Obliged frequently to land in order to procure provisions, to rest his crew impatient of confinement, or to draw his frail vessels into a place of shelter, he finds it impossible to pursue his course without securing the amicable feelings of the natives. Hence the impossibility of distant trading voyages in ancient times. The commodities of countries remote from one another were interchanged by repeated transfer from hand to hand, each intermediate link in the chain sharing in the advantages of the communication. But any attempt to disturb this system, by establishing a direct correspondence between the extreme points, naturally awakened the hostility of the intermediate states whose

agency was dispensed with; and as commerce cannot long exist without security, mercantile adventure was obliged to confine itself within narrow bounds, and to seek the nearest ports rather than the largest profits.

The Arabians, however, in their trade with India, appear to have been in some measure exempted from the restrictions necessarily attendant on the coasting system. The superstitious aversion of the Hindoos to the sea permitted the carrying trade of their coasts to be exercised by a strange people. Foreign trade appears to have been known to the Hindoos from very remote ages. In the laws of Menû are found provisions relating to the insurance of ships at sea; and as the Hindoos themselves, though excellent merchants, are never seamen, it is probable that the Arabians were always employed by them in the latter capacity. Indeed as far back as authentic history conducts us, we can discern traces of Arabian navigation in the Indian seas. Arabian names, as for example, *Gezirah, the Promontory,* are met with in the voyage of Nearchus, and the people called *Arabitæ,* whom he found on the coast not far from the Indus, were probably settlers from the opposite side of the gulf.

It is no wonder that the Arabian merchants, possessing the lucrative monopoly of the Indian trade, should be distinguished in antiquity by their luxury and enormous wealth: they are spoken of by the Greek and Latin writers nearly in the language applied by the prophet Isaiah to the inhabitants of Tyre, "whose merchants are princes, and whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth." * All the precious commodities, the gold, the gums, and spices imported to the West from the southern parts of Arabia, were once supposed to be the produce of that country; and there are some who still defend that opinion, from a pertinacious attachment to ancient errors. The delusion was, however, beginning to vanish in the time of Pliny, who questions the right of *Arabia Felix* to bear that title; a pestilential climate, with a soil barren in many places, and unprovided with

* Isa. xxiii. 8

the precious metals, seemed to him to afford but slender claims to the epithet of *Happy.*

According to Herodotus, frankincense, myrrh, cassia, cinnamon, and ladanum, were all peculiar to Arabia. Cassia is supposed to have been the pipe-cinnamon of modern commerce: the cinnamon of the ancients was the tender shoot of the plant, and an article of such high price, as to be a fit present for kings: to offer to the gods crowns of cinnamon, tipped with gold, was a refinement of imperial prodigality worthy of the wealthiest age of Rome. The frankincense, Herodotus tells us, was guarded by winged serpents: the value of cassia was enhanced by dangers still more formidable: the trees on which it grew gave shelter to great birds, resembling bats, so fierce and strong as to be vanquished with extreme difficulty. But with respect to cinnamon, the Arabians, he says, could not distinctly explain the origin of that precious commodity: they pretended that it was brought to them by birds from the country (India) in which Bacchus was reared: these birds built their nests among inaccessible rocks, and on the tops of mountains: the Arabians, unable to reach them, strewed the limbs of asses and oxen at no great distance; and these being quickly carried off by the birds, and proving too heavy for the nests, fell to the ground with the cinnamon adhering to them, as the reward of the artifice. Thus the Arabians sought to dignify or to screen their monopoly by the mists of fable.

Now cassia and cinnamon were imported into Egypt and to Tyre in very early ages: they are distinctly and repeatedly named by Moses. * In the time of Ezekiel, "the men of Dan and Javan (the eastern Javan) going to and fro, brought cassia, calamus, and bright iron." "The merchants of Sheba and Raameh were occupied with the chief of all spices, with gold and precious stones." Thus we see that the productions of India were brought to Tyre both by caravans from the Persian Gulf and by Phœnician vessels, probably from the ports of Arabia

* Exodus, xxx. 23.

Felix. These productions were imported by the Arabians from Malabar, whither some of them (and cinnamon among others) were probably brought from remoter countries by the Malays or native navigators of the Indian seas.

Yet it was still believed in the Augustan age that cinnamon, cassia, and other spices were the produce of the Happy Arabia; a clear proof that the Greeks of Egypt had not yet established a direct trade with India, and that the ports of Arabia continued to be the emporia of eastern produce. Some years later, the sensible Arrian, the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, though well acquainted with the native regions and chief markets of the other spices, was still totally in the dark with regard to cinnamon; whence it may be inferred that it did not grow in his time either in Malabar or Ceylon, but probably constituted a branch of the regular trade which was carried on with Sumatra by the Indian ships. When Arrian says that cinnamon grows in Azania, on the western coast of Africa, he commits an error far too wide of the truth to allow of palliation or support; but his positive assertion seems to countenance the opinion of those who, believing that the south-western coasts of Africa received in early times an Indian colony, think it likely that advantage was taken of the circumstance to escape the rapacious monopoly of the Arabs, and that precious cargoes were often carried across the ocean from India to Azania, whence they were brought direct to Egypt. Some communication of this sort must certainly have given rise to the belief of Indian geographers, partially admitted by Arrian, and adopted in all its rigour by Ptolemy, that the Indian islands are at no great distance from the western coast of Africa. It is worthy of remark, that though Arrian believed that cinnamon was derived from Africa, he nevertheless does not mention it among the articles exported from that country. Pliny appears still to have thought that cinnamon was the produce of Africa; yet he relates a story which, though mingled with fable, throws not a little light upon the

truth. "Cinnamon," he says, "grows in Æthiopia among the Troglodytes; the Æthiopians, buying it from their neighbours, transport it through the vast sea in vessels without sails or rudders. They put to sea in winter, when Eurus (the east wind) blows, and go to Ocelis. The spice is gathered by the consent of Jupiter, whom they call Assabinum (Siva?). These merchants return to Arabia hardly once in five years." This relation makes it evident that cinnamon arrived in Arabia from the south-east in vessels coming from a great distance, and crossing the ocean by favour of the trade-winds. The mention of Æthiopians and Troglodytes is but a recurrence of the expressions of Hindoo geography, which unites Africa with the Indian Archipelago. In fine, it is impossible to avoid concluding that cassia and cinnamon, the *golden* spices of the Hindoos (for such is the import of its Indian names), which were known at so early an age to the Egyptians, and were deemed worthy to be used as ingredients in the holy anointing oil of the tabernacle, were derived from Sumatra by native merchants, and disposed of by them to the Arabians. The country from which they came remained for many centuries a secret.

In the time of Agatharchides (nearly two centuries before the Christian era), the Greeks had still but an obscure knowledge of the Eastern seas. The carrying trade of the Arabians existed unimpaired. That writer describes, in terms of admiration, the wealth and luxury of the Sabæans. They sailed to distant countries in large vessels, (larger, we may conclude, than Greek ships,) and founded colonies. Vessels also of great size frequented their ports from *Indus*, *Patalis*, *Persis*, and *Caramania*.* Two centuries and a half later, when Arrian wrote, the island of Socotra was inhabited by a mixed population of Arabs, Greeks, and Hindoos, all established there for purposes of trade. The Arabians were evidently numerous on the Malabar coast, and even in the island of Ceylon, where their dress and religion

* Agatharch. in Photius.

appear to have predominated among the lower classes.* Hindoo merchants, or banyans, on the other hand, were probably as numerous in Sabæa then as at the present day, when they are the principal merchants of that country.

Thus it appears from the Greek and Roman writers, that when, after the conquests of Alexander, the merchants of Europe endeavoured to penetrate into the Indian seas, they found a great trade already carried on in them, fully developed, and which had apparently existed for many centuries. This conclusion is borne out by the testimony of the Hindoo writings. But a narrow inspection of Arrian's Periplus will suffice to establish the maturity of commerce in the Indian seas. He depicts the exact routine of trade; the relative estimation of the markets; the great demand for specie, which has always characterised India as a country independent of foreign produce and manufacture; the active home trade carried on in country ships, and many other particulars indicative of long-established practice, as well as of great opulence and civilisation. He mentions five different kinds of vessels used by the Indians; viz. *Madratæ*, or boats sewn together; *Trappaga* and *Kotymba*, long vessels used by pilots and fishermen, or as lighters at the mouths of rivers; *Sangara* (*sea boats*), like double canoes, or Malay proas; and *Kolandiophonta*, ships of a great size, or *bantings*, as they are called, which, with the former, were employed in the trade of the Golden Chersonese. The vessels engaged in this trade resorted chiefly to Taprobane, whence they sailed to the mouth of the *Mæsolus*, or Kistna, and from that point stood eastward across the Bay of Bengal. But as the Greeks, and apparently the Arabs, had no share in this navigation, our information respecting it terminates with this brief hint of Arrian's.

The existence of pirate nations is a sure indication of a commerce carried on by sea. A nation of pirates was found by Alexander not far from the river Indus;

* Pliny.

piratical tribes infested the coasts of Arabia, and attacked ships as they passed, from rafts supported by blown skins; a contrivance which shows that the ordinary track of merchant vessels was not far from the shore. On the coast of Canara was another pirate nation; and a country of pirates is placed by Ptolemy to the east of the Bay of Bengal, near the Golden Chersonese. How far the trade of India extended towards the East, it is impossible to determine with precision: that an uninterrupted communication was not maintained with the Spice Islands is plain, from the circumstance that Arrian makes no mention of the nutmeg; yet the *comacum* of Theophrastus is supposed to be the nutmeg; and, what is liable to less discussion, mace is expressly mentioned by Plautus; so that the aromatic productions of the Moluccas must have been known in Rome at least two centuries before the Christian era.

The antiquity of trade and navigation in the Indian seas is incontestably established; and the influence exercised in the course of trade by the language of the country which exported, is evident from the Sanscrit words *Kastera*, tin; *Karbasa*, cotton; *Pipali*, pepper, &c. which were adopted by the nations of the West.* But geography profits little from a commerce carried on by the successive agency of numerous nations; each taking no interest beyond the transit in which it is engaged, so that the slow and tortuous channel of communication is, from a singe point of view, but partially and obscurely visible. The commodities of India were transmitted from the Arabians to the Phœnicians, from whose hands they passed to the nations of Europe. These last still remained in ignorance of the countries whence this precious merchandise originally came. The spices and other natural productions were supposed to be the growth of Arabia; the credit of art and fine workmanship, of the stained ivory, of figured or embroidered stuffs, was given to the Sidonians.

The Phœnicians, the carrying merchants of the Le-

* Schlegel. Berliner Taschenbuch, 1829.

vant, were as much distinguished for wealth and luxury in the days of Homer, as the Sabæans were in those of Agatharchides. Their navigations extended unquestionably to a great distance in the West, but they appear in that quarter much less in the character of regular merchants than of roving adventurers. It is remarkable how rapidly the Phœnician colonies disappeared before the Greeks, and how soon the maritime pre-eminence of that nation appears in history as a mere tradition. It does not belong to the limits or to the object of this work to discuss why the Phœnician colonies had so weak a vitality; but it is necessary to observe, that of the great number of settlements made by Phœnicians in Africa and the west of Europe, Carthage alone, which appears to have been an integral portion of the parent state, ever attained to any political consequence. The settlers of that nation, indeed, seem to have been mariners of low character, without the spirit or the ties of nationality, and easily melting away in the original population of the country which received them.

The commerce carried on by the Phœnicians with the west of Europe in early ages is admitted by the learned chiefly in order to explain the importation of tin and amber into the Levant. Now, with respect to the first of these articles, it is noticed by Moses, at an age long anterior to any record of Phœnician establishments in the West. But there can be no difficulty in determining the country from which tin first arrived in Egypt. That metal has been, in all ages, a principal export of India; it is enumerated as such by Arrian, who found it abundant in the ports of Arabia, at a time when the supplies of Rome flowed chiefly through that channel. The tin mines of Banca are, probably, the richest in the world. But tin was also unquestionably brought from the West at a later period: for in that quarter ancient geographers have unanimously placed the *Cassiterides*, or *tin islands*, which the rashness of modern criticism has identified with the Scilly Islands, though these neither produce tin nor answer in any respect to the description

of the ancients. An enquiry concerning the existence or situation of those islands will assist us in judging of the extent of the Phœnician navigations.

The Greek name for tin (*cassiteros*) was derived, it has been supposed, from the Phœnicians, who originally usurped the whole trade of the Mediterranean. It is not of importance to controvert this opinion, which, however, evidently rests on the erroneous supposition, that the word *Kasdira* was a primary and original term of the Phœnician language. The name *Cassiterides* (tin islands) is evidently but an epithet, implying the want of particular acquaintance with the countries thus vaguely denominated. But as geographers feel peculiar pleasure in fixing the position of every wandering name, the title of *tin islands* was inconsiderately bestowed by Greek and Roman writers, at one time on real islands in which there was no tin, at another on imaginary islands near the coasts abounding in that metal. Almost all these accounts refer the *Cassiterides* to the coast of Spain. Some writers place them many days' sail in the Western Ocean; others, nearly opposite to Corunna; but they are never mentioned by ancient authors (with a single exception) with respect to their distance from the coast of Britain; a circumstance which, to those acquainted with the ancient system of navigation, must be a convincing argument that the Cassiterides were not the Scilly Islands. Cæsar and Tacitus, though they mention the gold, silver, iron, and pearls of Britain, take hardly any notice of its tin mines. Pliny, moreover, after discussing all the accounts relating to the *Cassiterides*, concludes that these islands had but a fabulous existence, and observes, that in his time tin was brought from Galicia.

The only conclusion that can be safely drawn from these conflicting statements is, that tin was brought indeed at an early age from the West, but not by a direct channel, or by the single agency of either Greeks or Phœnicians. The Phœnician adventurers scattered through the West may perhaps have stimulated the

working of the mines, and made known their produce; but the tin, whether from Galicia or from Britain, was probably carried through Gaul to Marseilles, before, as well as after, the voyage of Pytheas: for the effect of a sea voyage could hardly be to open a communication by land, although it might increase the agents, and render the traffic more considerable. Thus the Greeks and Romans still continued to receive tin from the West, and still remained ignorant of the country which produced it, long after the Phœnicians had ceased to be the immediate suppliers of their wants. The expression *tin islands*, indeed, perhaps had its origin in that defect of the Semitic language which confounds peninsulas and islands, or rather in that idiom which employs the latter term to signify, in general, remote countries; for in this sense we must understand the expressions of Scripture, "*the isles of Africa*," and "*the isles of the Gentiles.*"

Although the Phœnicians who settled in Spain may have maintained, for a short time, some communication with the parent state (a supposition, however, for which there is little historical foundation), yet the hypothesis of a direct commerce carried on by Tyre with the west of Europe is at variance with all the authentic information we possess respecting the trade and navigation of the ancients. Those who believe that such a commerce ever existed, must admit, however, that it ceased before the historic age began. The voyages of the Carthaginian generals, Hanno and Himilco, sufficiently prove how new the Western World was to their nation; and the colonies subsequently planted by Carthage on the western coast of Africa show the limits and the nature of her commerce. That the Carthaginians carried on a great and a direct trade with Britain, and even with the Baltic, is a proposition but slenderly supported by historic testimony, and irreconcilable with all we know with certainty of the ancient commercial system; that they studiously and effectually concealed their navigations from other nations, and that their mariners even frequently devoted themselves to death, and ran their vessels aground, in order

to decoy into destruction the ships that too narrowly observed their course, are puerilities deserving notice only for the avowal of ignorance they contain.

The commercial treaties between Rome and Carthage are among the most curious documents of ancient history. The earliest of these treaties, ratified in the year of Rome 245, or 509 B. C., is drawn up with the precision and foresight of modern diplomacy: it warrants the safety of Romans trading in the markets of Carthage, but binds their freedom of navigation, and of making settlements on the coast of Africa. It contains, also, some remarkable stipulations respecting the right of releasing captives, or cargoes of slaves, when the ships of the one state were driven by stress of weather into the ports of the other. From this treaty it may be collected, that the contracting parties were chiefly brought into collision by the situation of Sicily, which lay between them; that their navigation lay along the shores, and that a principal object of their maritime courses was to collect slaves. The treaty entered into after the first Punic war (242 B. C.) displays the same jealous care on the part of Carthage to guard against encroachments; but it is also remarkable for its omissions, for it makes no mention either of Alexandria or of the Straits of Gades. May we not therefore conclude that the Carthaginian state never dreamt of possessing an exclusive trade within such extensive limits; that the increase of its own colonies was the favourite object of that ambitious republic, and that a foreign carrying-trade in the East, or in the West, was never regarded by it as essentially connected with its prosperity?

The problem of the *Cassiterides*, or *tin islands*, stated with so many variations by ancient writers, and remaining unsolved when the Romans were masters of, and perfectly acquainted with, the West, makes it evident that tin did not reach the Mediterranean by a direct trade, but passed immediately to the Greeks and Latins, from those who knew but little of the countries whence it came. But whatever may be the difficulties with

respect to tin, the question is simple as far as relates to amber. This article, in the time of Pliny, was brought from the Baltic to Italy, through Pannonia. It was extremely common in the north of Italy, where the women wore it in necklaces as an amulet to prevent goîtres. It was also collected on the western shores of Jutland, and carried to Italy, probably through Gaul. Now there is reason to believe that it reached the south of Europe by the same routes at least six centuries before the time of Pliny.

The existence of a trade across Europe at a very early age is attested by the tradition of a sacred road over the Alps, leading from Italy through Celtica and Celto-Liguria. There was also a tradition, supported by many collateral indications, of a trade between the Adriatic and Euxine seas. We know from Greek writers that there was a safe road from Illyria into Italy. The fabulous connection of electron, or amber, with the river Eridanus occurs at an early age in Grecian poetry: whether that stream be transferred by Æschylus to Gaul or Iberia, or be conducted by Euripides into the Adriatic, the Heliades, weeping for the lost Phaeton, still shed tears of amber on its billows. Whence, then, this poetic connection of amber with the river Po? It admits of an easy and natural explanation. *Eridanus*, it has been seen, was a general term signifying, very probably, the *distant river*, or river *beyond*. Herodotus had heard that it flowed into the northern ocean. The Veneti dwelt not far from this northern Eridanus, which is by some supposed, on slender grounds however, to be the Rhadune that flows near Riga. The amber collected near the mouth of this river was carried by those *Veneti* to the *Veneti* of the Adriatic, from whom it passed forward to the Greeks. These, therefore, considered the country of the latter people to be that which produced the amber; and having connected the name of that article, *electron*, with the name *Eridanus*, they consequently conferred this foreign title on the Po. As far back, then, as the legendary connection between the Eridanus and the

sisters of Phaeton, we may conclude that the amber trade was carried on through the head of the Adriatic. Hence the early geographers of Greece placed the *Electrides*, or *amber islands*, at the mouth of the Po; that the road through Liguria reached Marseilles, and diverted from it a portion of the tin trade also, may be collected from the tradition which placed a *Cassiteris*, or *tin island*, among the *amber islands* of the Po. The share which the Ligurians had in the amber trade may be conjectured from the name *Lyncurion* borne by that substance. Theophrastus related that *Lyncurion*, or amber, was dug from the earth in Liguria; and observed that it attracted not merely light bodies but even brass and iron. The Romans first explored the route over-land from Pannonia to the Baltic in the reign of Nero; but the amber trade had evidently long before that time flowed through regular channels. The Germans, who collected the amber, told the Roman merchants that the Greeks esteemed most highly the kind called *Macatos*, by which we are probably to understand that they valued it for its *size*, in Greek, *megathos*. Pytheas, about four centuries before Pliny, bears testimony to the existence of an amber trade in the Baltic; and as he was said to have extended his voyage eastward to the Tanais, it is not unreasonable to suppose that a communication was opened in his time with the north by the Greek settlers in the Euxine, who in the days of Herodotus had already penetrated a long way into the interior. But this great historian himself gives weighty evidence in favour of the land-trade of Europe, when he tells us expressly that tin and amber are brought from the remotest countries of the north, while at the same time he questions the existence of a western ocean, and emphatically declares that he never met with a person who had seen it. *

Hence it appears that commerce and geography are much less indebted to the Phœnicians than is generally imagined: the navigators of that nation are looked upon as forming in early times the only bands of communica-

* Herod. iii. c. 115.

tion in Europe, and as the authors of every ancient geographical tradition. But although the Phœnicians long preceded the Greeks in the arts of navigation and in commercial enterprise, yet their system of trade must have been necessarily moulded by those circumstances of the times which even in later ages, when comparative security existed, checked the long voyages of coasting navigators. The richly-laden merchant-ships of the Homeric age must have met with Cyclops and Læstrygons at every anchorage. The adventurous spirit of a nation of mariners soon carried the Phœnicians abroad through the West; but it would be hazardous to maintain that the colonies settled by them ever formed the links of a continuous chain of correspondence. It is possible that they may have stimulated the trade of the West; but there is no reason to believe them its creators or sole upholders. In fine, the existence of a direct trade between Phœnicia and the western shores of Europe is not only without historical evidence, but when examined narrowly is also without likelihood.

Yet few opinions so intrinsically weak have been so generally and so fully adopted as that of a great trade once carried on by the Phœnicians in the Western Ocean. The want of evidence is supposed to be explained by the jealousy with which that people concealed the state secret of their navigations, as if it were not as difficult to conceal the truth as to discover it. The favour which this opinion enjoys is not hard to be accounted for: the interposition of a nation so mysterious in their movements is often useful to solve the difficulties and to fill up the chasms of historical information. Besides, all seems dark in antiquity beyond the circle partially illumined by the light of letters; and the agency of a trading people like the Phœnicians was naturally magnified, because it was supposed to operate singly and unassisted. The supposition of some traffic and communication between the various tribes scattered over Europe in the earliest ages, however natural and even inevitable such intercourse may have been, is too little imposing and too

purely rational to contend with the hypothesis of early proficiency in the Phœnicians. The human mind prefers the contemplation of visible agents associated with the ideas of power, magnitude, and antiquity, to the belief of obscure movements, detected only by the scrutiny of reason.

CHAP. X.

MYTHIC GEOGRAPHY OF THE HINDOOS, AND ITS CONNECTION WITH GRECIAN MYTHS.

MOUNT MERU. — THE SEVEN DWIPAS OR ISLANDS. — THE QUARTERS OF THE HEAVENS, HOW NAMED. — THE WHITE ISLAND OF THE WEST. ITS TRIPLE NATURE. — GOLD, SILVER, AND IRON MOUNTAINS. — THE COUNTRY OF THE SUN AND MOON. AUSPICIOUS EPITHETS — WIDE DIFFUSION OF THIS BELIEF. — NUMEROUS WHITE SEAS. — WHITE ISLANDS OF THE GREEKS. TRINACRIAS AND ISLANDS OF THE HAPPY. — HECATE AND TRIPLE DIVINITIES OF THE WEST. — HESPERIA. — THE HYPERBOREANS — KNOWN GENERALLY AMONG THE INDO-TEUTONIC NATIONS. — TRADITION OF AN ATLANTIS OR WESTERN ISLAND. — HINDOO GEOGRAPHY OF THE EAST. — LANDS OF GOLD, SILVER, AND BRASS; MISLED PTOLEMY. — PANCHÆA. — THESE LEGENDS STILL PRESERVED IN INDIA AND IN THE WEST. — THEIR INFLUENCE.

Though the Hindoos possess some treatises on geography, yet their language, it is said, does not possess a term to express that useful branch of knowledge. The temper of the Brahminical religion is opposed to every kind of mental acquirement of too practical a character to be wholly appropriated by the religious caste. In the Puránás, or Hindoo sacred poems, there occur many wild systems of cosmology mingled with partial notices of neighbouring nations, alike intrinsically worthless: for what instruction can be derived, in the history of geography, from systems which represent the earth as a lotus flower floating on the surface of the ocean, with Mount Meru rising from the centre as an umbel; or from those which describe it as composed of seven, eight,

or nine concentric circles (for these differ in number in the doctrines of different sects) placed round that holy mountain, while the sea between them, mysteriously connected, flows in a spiral line, like the Styx of Grecian mythology?

But among those extravagancies of superstitious fancy, some occasional gleams of an acquaintance with Europe, and still further, numerous allusions to an abode of bliss or imaginary land of peace and happiness, deserve a moment's attention. That myths of this kind should be common to India with Greece and other western nations will not surprise those who reflect on the affinity existing between the languages of India and those of Europe. A derivation from a common stock, no matter how remote, will suffice to explain a resemblance between the most widely separated nations in matters so adhesive as the legends of superstition. But independent of all the evidence which may be collected by the philologer and antiquarian to illustrate the migrations which have taken place from Asia into Europe, it is obvious that the commerce carried on from the earliest ages between Europe and the East would be necessarily attended with an influx of myths from India, a country as prolific of religious reveries as it is overflowing with riches and population.

All the Hindoo geographical systems place Mount Meru in the centre of the earth: this wonderful mountain is described to be 84,000 yojans high, 32,000 wide at the top, and only 16,000 at the bottom. Some sects, however, believe it to resemble an erect pyramid; some make it cubical, and others drum-shaped. At equal distances from Mount Meru, to the north and south, are usually ranged chains of mountains (from seven to nine in number) all glittering with the gorgeous embellishments of Indian fancy; some are of gold: others of precious gems, and shining like 10,000 suns. But these descriptions belong only to the central portion of the earth which is surrounded by the salt sea. The *Dwipas* or *islands* (literally between *two waters*), which lie beyond

the salt sea, are not formally recognised as habitable by the human species. But as consistency is not to be expected in theories of so fanciful a nature, the seas interposed between those concentric islands are often overlooked, and the historical legends relating to distant countries appear frequently jumbled with the cosmological system of the Dwipas. These must now be enumerated.

I. *Jambū-dwipa*, or the island of Jambū, is the central portion of the earth, containing Mount Meru. It is India, in short, and in ordinary language (when the absurd system of the Dwipas is forgotten), the whole of the old world. It is also called the Isle of the Virgin, *Ila*, *Ida*, or *the earth*. Jambū-dwipa is surrounded by the salt sea; for the framers of the system found it impossible to depart from sober reality, while so near to home.

II. *Cusa-dwipa* is so called from the *Cusa*, or *grass*, bearing fruit like a great melon. It is surrounded by the sea of *Syra*, or intoxicating liquors. This Dwipa is supposed to have relation to the country extending from India to the Caspian Sea.

III. Next comes the dwipa of *Placshu*, or the *fig-tree*, bounded by the sea of *Ikshu*, or *juice of the sugar-cane.*

IV. *Salmali-dwipa*, or the *island of the willow*, stands next in order, girt by the sea of *Sarpi Ghrita*, or clarified butter.

V. *Crauncha-dwipa*, with the *Dad'hi Sagara*, or sea of curds.

VI. *Saca-dwipa*, with the *Cshirabd'hi*, sea of milk, or white sea; called also *Amritabd'hi*, the sea of *Amrita* or Ambrosia.

VII. *Pushcara*, beyond which is the sea *Swaduda*, or of fresh water, completes the system. *Pushcara* is expressly declared to be at the furthest extremity of the West, and in the same climate with *Uttaracuru*, or the country immediately adjoining the northern ocean; so it would appear that the Brahminists aimed more particularly at representing the regions of the north-west; hence those who have succeeded to them in the practice

of building theories have endeavoured to prove, that by the dwipas of Cusa, Placshu, Salmali, Crauncha, Saca, and Pushcara respectively, we are to understand the country from India to the Caspian, Asia Minor, the country between the Euxine and the Baltic, Germany, the British islands, and Iceland. That they had some positive knowledge of the countries in that direction is manifest from numerous passages in the Puránás. "What lies between Pushcara and Maha Megha mountains, about 100 yojans long and 60 broad, is as flat as the palm of the hand. The soil is hard and tenacious, without any grass: there are few living creatures, and the inhabitants have no fixed dwellings. This desert is so dreary as to make the traveller's hair stand up; the whole country is called *Cánana* or *Cánan*. There are several large lakes, great trees and groves called Cántá. The smaller lakes, pools, trees and orchards producing delightful juices, are innumerable. There are caves also in the mountains, most dreary, dark, and difficult of access. In this country are Sidd'has or prophets with the gifts of miracles, learned and famous Brahmins, bright like fire; thousands of them are in this country." This land of Cánana appears to be Syria taken in its widest signification; and the mention of the *Sidd'has* or saints indicates an acquaintance with the Jewish people.

In designating the points of the compass the Hindoos suppose themselves standing so as to face the rising sun, and then name the quarters of the heavens from their relative position. Thus the east is called in Sanscrit *para* or *pra, before;* and the west, in like manner, is called *apara*, or that which is *behind.* Among the derivatives from the latter expression in old dialects are the words *apaicya* and *aprica*, the latter of which is still used in Ceylon to signify *western*, and may be regarded, with some probability, as the identical word from which the continent of *Africa* derived its name. The south being on the *right hand* is called *dacshina* (the Greek *dexion*), whence the peninsula of India still retains the name of *Decan*, the *right hand*, or *south*, originally given

to it by the Gangetic nations. The north is denominated in Sanscrit *uduc* or *uttara*, but as the holy mountain Meru is supposed to be to the north of India, that quarter of the heavens receives also the respectful titles of *Senis-tiram* or *Aras-tiram*, the quarter of *Senis*, or of *Arah*.

But independent of the dwipas or islands which are the mere offspring of system, the Puranic legends make constant allusion to a sort of fairy land, an imaginary abode of happiness and joy, floating as free as the hopes to which it owes its creation. This is the *Sweta-dwipa*, or *white island of the west*, situated beyond the *Cálodabd'hi* or sea of Cála, *the black*, or Pluto. Hither the Divs and Devas, the multiform deities of the Hindoo pantheon, resort as to a more genial dwelling, from the state and splendour of Meru. Here, by the authority of all the legends, is the *Isá-pura* or *Is'pura, the abode of the gods*; perhaps the *Hesperia* of the western classics. The Persians adopted the same belief, and the same mode of expression. In their romances, the hero Cai-caus goes to the mountain *Az-burj*, at the foot of which the sun sets, to fight the *Dio Sefid*, or white devil, whose dwelling is on the seventh stage of the world. The Germanic nations, whose languages present so many resemblances with the ancient languages of India and of Persia, had also their *Asburg* or *Asgard* (for these terms are equivalent); but as no terrestrial paradise was met with by those nations in their progress towards the west, they very wisely transferred to the heavens the true *Asgard*, or abode of the gods in Scandinavian mythology.

As Mount Meru has three peaks of gold, silver, and iron, which are the seats respectively of Bramah, Siva, and Vishnu, the Hindoo trinity, so the *White Island* has the same merit of being a *trikhetra*, that is, of having three peaks, or else it may be considered as of a triple nature, and composed of three islands. These are *Hiranya* or *Suvarnya*, the golden, *Aryàtéya* the silver, and *Ayéya*, the iron island. The first of these peaks or islands is also called *Suryacanta*, the mountain

of the sun ; the silver mountain is entitled *Chandra canta*, the mountain of the moon. In the Cumárica Chanda, the zone from east to west, forming an arch round Mount Meru, is divided into nine parts, of which that forming the western extremity (the *Aparantica*, or end of the west,) is declared to be the country of the moon.

The White Island of the west, the land of the sun, the paradise of the moon, is lavishly decked in the Hindoo legends with all the propitiatory epithets of a copious language. That blessed land enjoys the *Su-bhiansu*, or mild beams of ten thousand moons. It is named not only *Sweta*, the white, but also *Ghrita*, the bright ; *Teja*, the splendid ; *Canta*, the brilliant; *Cirna*, the effulgent ; *Cshira*, the milk white ; *Padma*, the flower, &c. These appellations of the happy island in the West bear a strong resemblance to the names of the islands in the Grecian Archipelago ; and if the active philological researches of the present age shall succeed in throwing any new light on primitive Greece, that resemblance may be proved to be not merely the result of accident.

The Chinese philosopher, Confucius, taught that paradise is in the West ; the same belief prevails in Thibet and in all the countries professing the religion of Buddha or Fo. The Jews expected from the West the establishment of their new kingdom ; it is not extraordinary, therefore, that the nations of Europe, whose languages bear positive evidence of a derivation from the same family of mankind as the Hindoos, should retain in popular superstition the same opinion, couched uniformly in similar expressions. Wherever the Indo-Teutonic nations, as they are called, have fixed themselves, we find *white* islands still looming in the West, and surrounded by *white* seas. Thus, to the westward of the Samoyeds, adjoining the Northern Ocean, is a white sea, so named, perhaps, in the first instance, by the *Jots*, a race of giants, as tradition testifies, of kindred origin with the Scandinavian *Asi*. They were totally exterminated by pestilence and famine. The Caspian has been always called the *White* Sea by the nations in-

habiting its eastern shores, and it bears among them at present the Turkish name *Akdingis*, which has that auspicious signification. The Turks also, from their first entrance into Asia Minor, gave the name of White Sea to the Ægean. The word *Baltic*, likewise, in the Lithuanian tongue, signifies the *white* sea; and it deserves to be remarked, that the Sarmatian nations, while occupying a position between it and the Euxine, gave to the latter the natural correlative name of *Mor-mori*, or the *Black Sea*. This designation has been subsequently translated and adopted by other European nations, as well as by the Turks, the original Sclavonian expression being at present confined to the Propontis, or, as it is corruptly called, the Sea of *Marmara*. The names of *Wittland* and of *Helgoland*, the *white* and *holy* land, were profusely spread through the north-west of Europe. Holy islands were numerous in the German Seas. Britain was *Al-fionn*, or the white island; and the ancient name of Ireland, *Muic-inis*, according to the soberest critics, bears the same interpretation. Our antiquaries have all observed (and those who turn with contempt from fables graced with the style of history by blind national attachment have acknowledged themselves unable to explain the circumstance), that Ireland enjoyed the reputation of sanctity at a very early age.* Yet, as far back as history throws a transient light on the internal condition of that country, it appears to have been always the seat of anarchy and barbarism.† But does not the remote geographical position of Ireland with respect to Europe (*Iernis*, emphatically the Western Isle,) sufficiently account for its mythical reputation? and indeed *Banue*, or the *Happy* Island, a title which it could have derived from superstition alone, is one of its most ancient appellations.

The consolatory tale of a land of happiness unalloyed

* Sharon Turner's Hist. of Engl. vol. ii.

† The learning of Ireland in the ninth and tenth centuries was an exotic of unstable growth. It belonged not to the people, but to the monasteries, and as soon as these were destroyed by the invasion of the Danes, every symptom of cultivation immediately vanished, and Ireland was again barbarous.

found its way also at a very early period into the mythology of Greece. The first *white island* of the Greeks or Pelasgians was probably Crete, called in remote ages the Island of the Happy, an expression which later writers vainly endeavoured to justify by the riches and salubrity of that island. We may rest satisfied, however, that Crete nursed the Idæan Jove, and was the habitation of the blessed, long before it could boast the wealth and population of its hundred cities. When that island was unfitted by the multiplication of men to be any longer the abode of deities, it was still remembered in mythic story, that the true birth-place of Jupiter was not the locality of Mount Ida, but in those wandering dwellings of the ocean, the *islands of the happy.** In like manner, although Delos, that is, the bright island, was honoured as the abode of Latona and birth-place of Apollo, yet the original intention of the myth to which it owed its celebrity was still preserved, and the homes of those deities were always acknowledged to be in the West. Delos was said to have originally floated, a legend in strict conformity with the myth. It is possible that tales were fabricated in later ages to maintain its reputation. Lucian derides the belief that Delos was a piece broken off from Sicily; but by using the word *Sicily*, he confounds the real with the mythical *Trinacria*, from which Delos might have been said to be detached.† The triquetral nature of the white island is its essential characteristic. Hence the *Trinacria* of Homer, or *Thrinakia*, as he calls it, (for the word was strange to him, and not of Ionian growth,) in which he, very properly, places the herds and flocks of the sun. His *Leucas petra* also, or *white rock*, which he places beyond the ocean, in the same line with his Hades and Cimmeria, is a remarkable instance of his mythological exactness. The island Rhodes bore also in ancient times the titles of *Triquetra* and *Macaria*, or the happy. *Leuce*, the *white island* of the Euxine, was in like manner believed to be triangular.

* Lycophron

† Lucian. Dialogi Marini.

Many other instances could be added of this prevalent superstition.

It is needless to mention the Gorgons, the Hesperides, the triple Hecate, the three-headed Cerberus, with numerous other tenants of the mythic West, ranged by the poets in triple order, and placed beyond that mysterious flood, the ocean. Nor is it necessary to examine the Trophonian visions of Timarchus, who saw the islands of the departed in the eighth division of the ocean, that is, beyond the Dwipas. In the ocean, it is evident, the early Grecian poets placed their Trinacria, and their *Leuce*, or white island: their *Ogygia*, *Ææa*, *Erytheia*, *Scheria*, and other *oceanic* islands, were probably, at first, but epithets of those, and afterwards obtained a separate existence from the same causes which have caused so much confusion in every part of the Greek mythology.*

In Hesperia, or the West, was the peaceful reign of Saturn, the Elysian Fields of Homer, and the Happy Isles of Hesiod. A minute examination of classical mythology would furnish innumerable proofs, that popular belief among the Greeks placed paradise beyond the Western Ocean, and that those fabled regions of bliss did not owe their creation to the glow and fertility of Grecian imagination. The myth of a land of happiness in the West was evidently one of the fragments originally gathered into the jumbled mass of Grecian mythology. Geographers might, therefore, have spared themselves the trouble of fixing the locality of the Fortunate Isles: to apply epithets of this kind is to pervert them, and to suppose them originating in the discoveries of the Phœnicians is to mistake their nature: the tradition created the island, and not the island the tradition.

* The word Ogygia itself seems to mean *oceanic* From *ogha*, Sansc. water, was derived *Oganus*, the god of the waters, whence the Greeks formed their *Oceanus* The Pelasgian word *augeon* (a word still used in Iceland), the collection of waters or sea, was soon forgotten in Greece in its general sense, though it enters into the composition of many Greek words The connection of Ogyges with the deluge is manifest in his name; or, in other words, it is evident that the name was made for the legend.

The site of the mysterious people called *Hyperboreans*, who were supposed to be the tenants of a sort of earthly paradise (and their name apparently implies as much), puzzled the geographers of antiquity, no less than the position of those coy fugitives, the Happy Islands. The great majority, indeed, of ancient writers, agree in placing the Hyperboreans to the north or north-west; in that direction, therefore, we ought probably to look for a people who cultivated religious reveries more earnestly than the Greeks, and who were naturally supposed to possess the happiness they preached; just as Arabia was thought to be the native country of the spices which she exported. Mention is made of the Hyperboreans in the Homeric hymns, as well as in Pindar, and in both cases they figure as a people beyond the ocean. Hecatæus, who wrote their history, says "that they inhabit a great island in the sea, opposite to Gaul, and under the north pole. The climate of that arctic island is delicious. Latona was born there; and the people consider themselves as Apollo's priests. The Hyperboreans use their own language, but are friendly to the Greeks, especially to Delos and to Athens. Greeks had passed over to them, and left some monuments in their country; and Abaris, the Hyperborean priest, on the other hand, had travelled into Greece, to make a league with the Delians. Indeed it appears that offerings of the Hyperboreans were frequently transmitted to Delos from the Adriatic, and through Epirus."

In this relation of Hecatæus, and these friendly missions from the West, so fondly ascribed to a sacred people, it is easy to discern the wide extension of the myth, and the usual error of endeavouring to convert it into reality. Herodotus sought in vain, among the Scythians, some tidings of that happy and long-lived nation; but in order to supply the deficiency of his own investigations, he informs us, that Aristæus the poet, who was conveyed by Apollo to the country of the Issedones, received there the intelligence that the Hyperboreans dwelt on the Northern Ocean, beyond the

Arimasps. This Aristæus is a most important personage in the history of early Grecian civilisation: he is said to have been Homer's instructor: he visited the countries beyond the Euxine; and with the doctrine of transmigration (for he himself was born three times), he probably introduced into Greece many an Oriental legend.

But although Herodotus fruitlessly enquired among the Scythians for some account of a people much happier than themselves, the Greeks who visited India met with more success. Onesicratus related that concerning the Hyperboreans, who live 1000 years, the Indians repeated precisely the same stories as Simonides and Pindar. Indeed their *Sidd'hapoor*, or country of saints, "in which men falling from heaven are born again, and live 1300 or 1500 years," is placed, in all their systems, at the extremity of the North. "But some affirm," says the author of the Ayeen Akbary, "that beyond the ocean there is a blessed land of gold inhabited by mortals, who invariably live 1000 years, and never suffer by sickness or by sorrow." The Hindoos placed the Hyperboreans in *Uttara-Curu*, that is, the North, an expression which was understood in too confined a sense by Ptolemy and other ancient geographers. Pliny confounds them with the *Attacori*, from the resemblance of this word, perhaps, to *Attaracori*, the inhabitants of Uttara-Curu: but as the *Attacori* (the *Etha-Guri* of Ptolemy, from At-Ghur, the eight forts or rajaships,) were also to the north of the Ganges, the error is not very material.

The accounts received from the Indians, and from the Issedones by Aristæus, induced the later Roman and Greek writers to waver in assigning the position of the Hyperboreans, or to prefer fixing them in the north-eastern or central regions of Asia. Nevertheless, when all the statements respecting this fabulous people are candidly compared, they will be found to differ but little from each other; for the informants, in every case, placed the Hyperboreans *in the North*; and when this

expression was interpreted in the narrow sense of local description, it only shared in the fate of every myth which fell into the hands of the geographers. Thus it is evident that the story of the Hyperboreans (fundamentally the same with the Millenarian legends of the present day), as well as that of the White or Happy Islands of the West, was not a dream of Grecian poets, but a primitive myth of very extensive diffusion; and it is interesting to observe how zealously the Greeks, among whom the speculative doctrines of religion remained only in the faint shadows of tradition, sought to collect from the original sources some corroboration of a belief so gratifying to the aspirations of human nature.' It is likewise worthy of remark, that the *Cimmeria*, the *Acheron*, and *Elysium* of the early Greeks, which appear to have been borrowed from Phœnician sources, were almost wholly yielded up to the poets as ornaments of their compositions, while the belief in Hyperboreans and oceanic islands of contentment, supported by national traditions, seems to have suffered no decay from literary cultivations.

The division of the earth into seven *dwipas*, or islands, was made, according to the Hindoo system, by *Priyauratta*, who at first intended to share his dominions among his ten sons, but three of these retired from the world. The Puranas also speak of deluges which destroyed all the dwipas but that of *Jamboo*. These legends accord sufficiently well with the stories of Atlas and of his seven daughters, or ten sons, according to others. But the relation of Marcellus is more to the purpose; for, according to him, there existed in early times seven islands (the *dwipas*) in the Atlantic Ocean, sacred to Proserpine, together with three others (the *tri-cutadri*) of an immense magnitude, sacred to Pluto, to Ammon, and to Neptune. Plato's account, also, of an Atlantic island bears all the internal marks, not, indeed, of a historical tradition, but of a genuine primitive legend. The search for the *extremity of the west* was natural in those who imagined that paradise was situ-

ated in that quarter of the globe; and when the expected island was not found, it was easier to believe it swallowed up by the sea than to admit that it never had any but a fabled existence.

In the accounts which the writings of the Hindoos give of the Indian seas, the same tendency to dispose every thing according to the symmetry of a religious system prevails over the simplicity of truth In this quarter, also, there is a *tru-nate*, or group of three islands, composed respectively of gold, silver, and iron. Co-existing with these, there is a mysterious assemblage of seven islands; and when Jambolo stated that the Indian islands were seven in number, he only repeated the language of the natives; for the expression *Yail Lancas*, or the seven lancas, is still in use at the present day. It is obvious that these legends were all understood literally by the Greek geographers, and particularly by Ptolemy, who derived an unusually large share of information from India, and was careful to turn every atom of it to account. Accordingly, we find in his map a *Heptanesia nesos*, or *Septuple island*, which it is impossible to assign to any known position; and also a *Tricadiba*, or *Trinity island*, with a *Tricanesia nesos*, or translation of the former name, after his custom. His islands of satyrs, of monkeys, &c. all stand ranged in triple order. Then the countries of gold, of silver, and of brass, (this last being substituted for iron, according to the Greek notions of precedence among metals,) all belong evidently to the domains of fable, although posterity, always credulous when gold is in question, has never ventured to dispute the reality of their existence.

But Ptolemy committed a graver error when he adopted the opinion of Hindoo geography, which unites the eastern peninsula of India with the African continent. Arrian, the author of the Periplus, although he believed it possible to sail round Africa into the Atlantic, was yet evidently impressed with the Hindoo notions, for he says, " it is believed that Taprobane approaches

very close to the coast of Africa." The south-eastern coast of Africa is named in Hindoo writings Sanc'ha-dwipa (Zanguebar), that is, the island of shells, an expression equivalent to the country of the Troglodytes; and as this Troglodytic region is supposed to extend round to the south-eastern extremity of India, many errors arose from the use of this equivocal language, which have found their way into the writings of the Greek and Latin geographers. With *Anga-dwipa*, or China, the ancient writings of the Hindoos show but little acquaintance. "No great men, famous and learned among Bipeds, ever visited the island called Bhadrásvá, where there is a wondrous Canadab tree, with flowers like great water-pots." Yet silk, the peculiar production of China, found its way into India at a very early period. Silken garments worn by the queens at a time of festal display, are mentioned in the *Ramâyuna*, of Valmeeki, a poem written one thousand years at least before the commencement of our era.

There still remains a story transmitted to us by a Greek writer, which, from the indulgence shown to it by some eminent modern geographers, deserves to be compared with the legends of the Hindoos. Evemerus, a Macedonian, is said to have discovered, to the south of Arabia, a group of islands, *three* in number.* The largest of them, called *Panchæa*, was inhabited by four nations, one of which was ruled by *three* kings, who were nevertheless controlled by the college of priests. A magnificent temple there was covered with Egyptian hieroglyphs and inscriptions. *Three* cities adorned this terrestrial paradise. One of the lesser islands produced frankincense enough to supply the altars of all the gods in the world. In fine, *Panchæa* was the country of the Phœnix, and the island of the Triphyllian Jove. It is obvious that Evemerus derived this relation from the Egyptian priests, who debased the mythic tri-cuta of the Hindoos by attempting to unite it to facts. Just as Hecatæus placed the Hyperboreans in Britain (an island

* Diodorus.

opposite to Gaul) amidst memorials of the Greeks, so the Egyptians appear to have fixed the wandering islands of the East, and to have added to the general principle of a triple Elysium the hieroglyphs and other particularities derived from their peculiar modes of thinking. There seems but little reason, therefore, to hope, as some of the learned have done *, that these blissful islands may be again discovered on the coasts of Africa or Arabia.

The persuasion that the dwelling-place of happiness is in the West, may have exercised an important influence on the early migrations of mankind. The existence and the wide diffusion of such an opinion are clearly established; nor is there any reason to believe that it was grounded in positive tradition. But then it will be asked, why was Paradise supposed to be in the West? An answer to this question may be found in the constitution of the human being, who is always more disposed to receive profound impressions at the hour when the natural day is coming to a close, and contemplates with the finest sensibilities that most glorious of celestial phenomena, the setting sun. † The Hindoos retain to the present day their old belief. The chalk with which the Brahmins mark their foreheads is from the West: they even pretend that it is brought over land from Britain. Yogees, followed by their trains of pilgrims, have attempted in modern times to reach the Hyperborean regions across Europe, and have even advanced as far as Russia; but the importunate curiosity by which they were assailed effectually subdued in every instance their piety and courage.

In the West the primitive tradition is still remembered. The lakes and seas of Scotland and of Ireland have all their floating and holy islands. The *Inis Wen*, or *white island* of the Gaels, and the *Ynys y Cedeirn*, or *island of the mighty ones* of the Welsh, are still objects of hope and veneration. The most westerly group of the

* Malte-Brun, *Geogr* vol i. Gosselin.

† The first hints on the natural principles of mythology are to be found in Heyne's *Opuscula Academica*.

Hebrides, the Flannan islands, which are devoutly believed to be seven in number, and are even laid down as seven in our maps, though only six are visible to the eyes of the sceptical *, are said to have the virtue of disposing to prayer and religious meditation all who land upon them. † The Arran islands, on the west of Ireland, are entitled the *isles of the living*, that is to say, of those who have returned to life; but the language of this general superstition was carried far beyond the shores of Europe. It is found among the Indians of North America, who fervently believe in the existence of a land of happiness in the West beyond the ocean; but whether this tradition belongs to them originally, or was introduced among them by the Scandinavian adventurers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it is impossible to determine.

* Macculloch's Western Isles. † Martin's account of the Hebrides

BOOK II.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAP. I.

THE ARABIANS.

ITINERARIES OF THE ROMANS.—PEUTINGERIAN TABLE.—COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES.—THE WORDS SINT AND HINDOO.—THE TSINITZÆ.—THE ARABIANS.—THEIR CONQUESTS—AND COMMERCE.—EARLY TRAVELLERS INTO CHINA.—EDUCATION OF THE CHINESE.—REGULATIONS OF THEIR PORTS.—FIRST MENTION MADE OF TEA.—CHINESE EAT HUMAN FLESH.—STRANGERS IN CHINA.—CANFU.—USES OF THE COCOA-NUT TREE.—KINGS OF INDIA.—THE UNICORN.—SOGDIANA.—THE ALANS.—KHAZARS.—THE FOSSIL IVORY OF BULGAR.—COMMERCE OF THE ARABIANS WITH THE NORTH OF EUROPE.—THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA COLONISED BY ARABIANS.—KINGDOMS OF GHANA AND TOCRUR.—LAMLAM.—THE ZINGES AND WAC-WAC.—THE PERPETUAL ISLANDS.—OTHER ISLANDS IN THE SEA OF DARKNESS.—VOYAGE OF THE ALMEGRURIM.

THE geography of the ancients may be considered as having attained its greatest accuracy and comprehensiveness in the age of Ptolemy. The disorders which soon after followed in the Roman empire, the frequent migrations of the northern nations, and the invasions of the Goths and Huns, completely changed the geography of Europe, and rendered it difficult to procure any positive details amidst the disorders of so many revolutions.

Yet geography was still cultivated in the Roman world, and several treatises and itineraries remain, interesting to the critic, but of little importance in a general view. Of the itineraries the Romans had two kinds, the *Picta* and *Annotata*, or the drawn and written: the latter contained the names of the stations and chief places, with their distances from one another, without entering into any detail. In the *Itineraria Picta*, which were much more complete, all the great roads were drawn, the name and extent of the different provinces added, with

the number of the inhabitants, the mountains, rivers, and neighbouring seas. But in all those monuments of Roman industry there is no trace of mathematical geography; no scientific measurement; the distances of places were ascertained merely by itinerary measures, or occasionally by observations of latitude. Pliny complains bitterly of the inaccuracy of those measures. Of the former kind of itinerary the most remarkable that remain to us are that called the Itinerary of Antonine, the age of which it is difficult to ascertain; and the Itinerary of Jerusalem, a fragment which points out in great detail the whole route from Bourdeaux to that city.

Of the painted itineraries, a fine specimen is still preserved in the imperial library of Vienna, and has been engraved and published under the name of the *Tabula Peutingeriana.* Some have assigned its composition to the end of the fourth century; while others, with perhaps a preponderance of argument, have endeavoured to demonstrate that its origin ascends to the time of the emperor Severus, in the year 230 A. D. It is probable that it was frequently published with changes and additions, so that it cannot be correctly assumed to represent the geography of any one age. The copy which at present exists is thought to be the work of a monk of the thirteenth century: it owes its name to Conrad Peutinger, a citizen of Augsburg, to whom it formerly belonged, and by whom it was illustrated in a learned commentary. The commencement of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* has been lost; in consequence, Portugal, Spain, and the western part of Africa are wanting, and only the south-eastern corner of England remains: in recompense, it contains Asia and the East as far as the knowledge of the Romans extended in that quarter. The country of the *Seres*, the mouth of the Ganges, the island of Ceylon, lengthened from west to east, according to the ancient opinion, are all depicted in it, with the roads traced even in the heart of India. But the countries marked on this map are not placed in it according to their geographical position, their respective limits, and their real size; they

are ranged arbitrarily, one after the other from west to east, without any regard to the figure, or their longitude and latitude, as determined by geographical writers. This table or picture is about twenty-two feet long, and only one broad. Besides the roads, which appear to have been the principal objects of the author's industry, he has also marked the great mountains, the course of the chief rivers, the lakes, the outline of the coasts, the names of the provinces, and those of the principal stations.

The increase of commerce must necessarily produce a more active navigation. The luxury and profusion of the Romans continued to augment long after political decay was manifest in the empire, and, in consequence, their acquaintance with India, whence the most precious articles were imported, was every year enlarged. This is manifest from the *Topography of the Christian World*, written in the beginning of the sixth century by Cosmas, an Egyptian monk, whose work has procured him the surname of *Indicopleustes*, or *the voyager in India*, though it is much doubted whether he ever actually made the journey.

Cosmas wrote principally with a view to refute the impious doctrines (as he deemed them) of those who taught that the earth was a globe. According to him, it is a plain oblong, surrounded by an immense wall, which supports the firmament or azure vault of heaven: the succession of day and night is the effect of a great mountain in the northern part of the earth, behind which the sun conceals itself every evening. In support of these opinions Cosmas, like other framers of systems, is able to bring forward an abundance of authority, and fairly demonstrates that his system alone is reconcilable with the language of the sacred Scriptures, or of the old Greek poets.

From the details of the Egyptian monk, it may be collected that in his time these voyages of the Romans, or of the Greek merchants, extended beyond the coast of Malabar. Ceylon was called by the Indians *Sieladiba*, or the island of Siela,—a close approach to the name which it bears at the present day. "India," he says,

"is divided from Persia by the river Indus or Phison." This latter name he may have borrowed from the Arabians, who apply it to rivers in general; but it is originally Indian, and the same as *Phasis*, or *Fash*, a *river*, which we find occurring in Ceylon, in Colchis, in Armenia, and in the country of the Gihon or Oxus. The river Indus, it may be proper to observe, is called by the Hindoos the *Sint*, which also signifies the *river*; *Sindid*, the name of the country round the mouths of the Sint or Indus, signifies, in like manner, the Delta, or *river country*. The accidental resemblance between the name of the river Sint and that of the Hindoos led to a corruption of the former name, which has occasionally given birth to errors in historical investigations. The Hindoos or Indoos derive their national designation from the word *indoo*, the *moon*, as if they were descended from that heavenly body: however singular such a designation as that of the *people of the moon* may seem in the present age, it was anciently assumed not only by the Hindoos but by all the principal nations of central Asia. The Pandus (the Pandions of the Roman writers) and Chandras, who were among the most ancient and distinguished of the Indian dynasties, were respectively, as their names imply, the children of the sun and moon.

Cosmas observes that Hindostan was peopled by two races; that of the north being comparatively fair complexioned: but instead of calling the darker race Æthiopians, as was generally done, he gives to the fair-complexioned and ruling nation in the north the name of *Hunni*, an expression for which it is not easy to find a satisfactory explanation. Among other proofs which he furnishes of an extended navigation in the East, is his of the *Tsinitzæ* or Chinese, whose country, at the extremity of the East, was as far by sea from Ceylon as this island was from Egypt.

But the commerce of the Romans or Egyptian Greeks with India did not long continue: a power arose in the seventh century which cut off the nations of Europe from all direct communication with the East; the successors

of Mahomet extended their religion and their sway over as wide a portion of the globe as that embraced by the Roman empire in its most prosperous period, and even made themselves sole masters of almost all the civilisation that remained.

Geography naturally becomes a fashionable study under an extensive empire; and was cultivated accordingly with uncommon ardour by the Arabians. The conquests of that people extended at one time from Spain to India; and from the interior of Africa to the shores of the Caspian Sea. The pilgrimage to Mecca, prescribed by their religion, gave an impulse to the love of travel, which they had in common with all mankind. Their superiority in arms and civilisation during some centuries, united to the wide extension of their empire, rendered them masters of an immense trade. But their navigation appears to have been generally timid, and their voyages were confined to the coasts. Maritime commerce among the Arabians was far from possessing the same importance as that which was carried on by caravans over-land. The grand branches of this land-trade were those communicating with the interior of Africa, from Egypt and from Barbary across the Great Desert: slaves, ivory, and gold dust were purchased from the negroes, with a profit equivalent to the perils of the journey; other caravan routes led through Persia to Cashmeer and India; or over the great steppes of Tartary to the borders of China: a third principal channel directed its course northwards, and passing from Armenia, by Derbend and the western shores of the Caspian Sea, conducted to Astracan and the countries of the Bulgarians, Russians, and other nations of the north of Europe.

The geographical writings of the Arabians betray the same want of masculine taste and philosophic spirit which characterises in so singular a manner all the other productions of a people, who for some centuries ardently devoted themselves to the cultivation of letters. Massudi, who wrote, in the year 947, a general history, with the title of *The Golden Meadows and the Mines of Precious*

Stones, commences with comparing the earth to a bird, of which Mecca and Medina form the head, Persia and India the right wing, the land of Gog the left wing, and Africa the tail. He supposes the existence of an earth anterior to this, and situated elsewhere; he believes also that the earth which we now inhabit has been successively covered with waters, which have passed off sometimes on the one side, sometimes on the other.

The geography of the Arabians cannot be traced with the same degree of precision as that of which the Greek and Roman writers is susceptible: the singular incoherence of the oriental manner of writing, and the predilection of the Arabians to works in the form of dictionaries, to which they generally consigned their geographical details, render it extremely difficult to give a chronological history of their knowledge. The object, therefore, of this chapter must be, to give a general outline of the geographical knowledge of a people, who for some centuries were the chief agents of that intercourse between distant nations, which, however it may occasionally escape the notice of history, never ceases to operate important political effects.

The most eminent of the Arabian geographers is Edrisi, or Eldrisi, an individual, every circumstance of whose life is a subject of controversy to the learned. At the court of Roger the First, king of Sicily, in 1153, he composed his work, which he entitled, "*The going abroad of a curious Man to explore all the Wonders of the World.*" An imperfect translation of it exists under the name of *Geographia Nubiensis*. The work of Edrisi contains a full description of the whole world, as far as it was known to the author, with its countries, cities, and all its features, physical and political. These are arranged, not according to any of the methods to which we are accustomed, but in a manner peculiar to itself. The world is divided into *seven climates*, commencing at the equinoctial line, and extending northwards to the limit at which the earth is supposed to be rendered uninhabitable by the cold. Each climate is then divided

by perpendicular lines into eleven equal parts, beginning with the western coast of Africa, and ending with the eastern coast of Asia. The whole world is thus divided into seventy-seven equal square compartments, resembling those upon a chess-board, or those formed upon a plain map, by the intersecting lines of longitude and latitude.

The geographer begins with the first part of the first climate, including the western part of central Africa, and proceeds eastward through the different divisions of this climate, till he finds its termination in the sea of China. He then returns to the first part of the second climate, and so proceeds till he reaches the eleventh part of the seventh climate, which terminates in the north-eastern extremity of Asia.

The inconvenience of such an arrangement must be abundantly obvious. Instead of each country, or at least each region of similar physical character, being described by itself, it is severed by these mechanical sections into fragments, which are described in different and distant parts of the work, and no connected view is given of any great country.

In drawing the general outlines of cosmography, Edrisi describes the earth as globular, the regularity of that figure being interrupted only by the variety of mountains and vallies on its surface. He adheres to the doctrine of those ancient schools which supposed an inhabited torrid zone; but as his knowledge extended to populous countries south of the tropic, he placed the commencement of this zone, with very little propriety, at the equinoctial line. "Beyond this," he says, "there are neither plants nor animals, all being uninhabitable on account of the heat." Again, the habitable world extends, according to him, only to the sixty-fourth degree of north latitude, beyond which all is frozen with ice and perpetual winter.

The circumference of the earth he estimates at 11,000 leagues, and he refers also to a measurement made by Hermes, which found it to be 12,000. He divides the

whole according to the established system into 360 degrees; observing, however, that in consequence of the impossibility of passing the equinoctial line, the known world consists only of one hemisphere; of this one half is land and the other sea, which last consists chiefly of the great ambient sea, surrounding the earth, in a continued circuit like a zone, and in which the earth "floats like an egg in a basin of water." The only portion of it concerning which any thing was known was the Atlantic Ocean, called "the Sea of Darkness." That part which rolled along the north-eastern extremity of Asia was named "the Sea of Pitchy Darkness," the gloom of the climate here increasing the obscurity which the Arabians thought to be connected with the ocean. Besides the great sea or ocean, Edrisi reckons seven smaller ones, viz. the Red Sea or Arabian Gulf, the Green Sea or Persian Gulf, the sea of Damascus or the Mediterranean, the sea of the Venetians or the Adriatic, the sea of Pontus or the Black Sea, and the sea of Georgian or Dailem, by which he meant the Caspian.

The Arabians have the merit of preserving some precious fragments of the ancients: the following passage in Caswini contains an allusion to a universal principle of attraction, which, though not the gravitation of Newton, must be considered as a fortunate as well as bold step in speculative philosophy. Among the ancients, he says, some of the disciples of Pythagoras maintained that it was the earth that turned unceasingly, and that the movement of the stars was but apparent, and produced only by the rotation of the globe; others supposed that the earth was suspended in the universe equally distant from all points, and that the firmament attracted it on all sides, so as to maintain it in a perfect equilibrium; and that in the same manner as the magnet has naturally the power of attracting iron, so the firmament has the property of attracting the terrestrial globe, which being thus acted on by equivalent attractive forces in every direction, remains suspended in the centre. It is strange that the Arabians, who read with interest

speculations of this kind, made themselves but little progress in philosophic reasoning.

China was visited by Arabian merchants and ambassadors at an early age. Already, in the reign of Walid (704—715), Arabian envoys, bearing rich presents, arrived in China, through Cashgar and the plains of Tartary. After that time, the route from Samarcand to the city of Canfu was much frequented: but in the ninth century, China was visited by two travellers, whose narratives merit a particular consideration. These adventurers were Wahab and Abuzaid, the former of whom wrote the account of his travels, in 851. Abuzaid appears to have been about thirty years younger.*

These travellers represent the Chinese as a remarkably handsome people, superior in beauty to the Indians, with fine dark hair, regular features, and very like the Arabians. They observe, that the Chinese wear silk garments in winter and summer. Among other particularities noted by Wahab is the general education of the Chinese, who, whatever be their condition of life, he assures us, learn to read and write. Schools for this purpose are maintained at the public charge. Yet he also affirms, that the Chinese had no sciences; that their religion, and even their laws, were derived from the Indians; nay, he says, they are of opinion that they learned the worship of idols from the Indians, whom they look upon as a most religious nation.

The regulations of the ports appeared to our Mahometans a singular novelty. When merchants entered China by sea, their cargoes were seized, and conveyed to warehouses, where the imperial officers deducted a certain per centage off the goods; this transaction, which resembles so closely the arrangements of our custom-houses, was never attended with injustice.

* It is assumed that Abuzaid visited China in the ninth century: the date 877 occurring in his narrative is thought to mark the time of the author's journey. (See Renaudot Relation de deux Voyageurs, &c and Sprengel. Entdeckungen, p. 146.) But is there not reason to believe that Abuzaid is the same as the Abuyezid mentioned by Messudi (not and extr p 29), and who went to China in 915? The name Abuyezid occurs in De Guigné's extract, very near the mention of that massacre in Canfu which is related more at length by the Abuzaid of Renaudot.

The emperor reserved to himself the revenues arising from the salt mines, and from a certain herb, which the people drank with hot water, and of which such quantities were sold in all the cities as produced enormous sums. This shrub, called *Sah* by the Chinese, was more bushy than the pomegranate tree, and of a more agreeable perfume. The people poured boiling water on the leaf of the *Sah*, and drank the decoction, which was thought to be efficacious in curing all sorts of diseases. Here we have a distinct notice of the use of tea.

It is remarkable, that these old Mahometan travellers agree in stating that the Chinese were in the habit of eating all criminals who were put to death. Their cannibalism, indeed, does not seem to have resembled that of savage nations, who devour their enemies in order to gratify revenge, or to indulge in the excesses of ferocity; among the Chinese, apparently, the bodies of those who were publicly executed were left to be eaten by the poor and hungry. However incredible this account may appear, the Chinese annals lend it some confirmation; for they state, that when famines have occurred in that kingdom, human flesh has been sold in the markets; and that it was dangerous at those periods to go abroad after sunset, men being constantly on the watch to seize and butcher all whom they could lay their hands upon.

The Arabians, while they relate without a censure this barbarous practice, are loud in extolling the solemn and impartial administration of justice in China. A Mahometan cadi resided in Canfu, whence we might be justified in concluding, that the Arabian merchants, even so early as the ninth century, formed a pretty numerous community in that city. But this fact is fully established by a very remarkable passage in the narrative of Abuzeid; from which we learn, that when a rebel chieftain besieged and took Canfu, in the year of our era 877, he put to death, along with the rest of the inhabitants, one hundred and twenty thousand *Mahometans, Jews, Christians,* and *Parsees,* who resided there for the sake of traffic. Our traveller likewise adds, that " the num-

ber of the professors of these four religions is exactly known; because the Chinese are extremely nice in the accounts they keep of strangers." The Christians mentioned here are generally supposed to have been derived from what are called the Christians of St. Thomas, settled on the coast of Malabar; but there is good reason to believe, that the first Christians known in China were Nestorians, who reached that country through Persia and the desert.

The *Canfu* of the Arabian and Chinese writers was formerly one of the greatest foreign ports of China; it is situated on the north side of a bay or basin at the mouth of the Che Kiang. It has long since lost its commercial importance, on account of its harbour being choked up by sand.

The early Arabian voyagers mention the *Andaman* islands and their savage inhabitants, who devoured human flesh quite raw. They also describe Sumatra, it is supposed, under the names of *Lamery* and *Ramni*. The same island is called *Soborma* by Edrisi, whose isle of *Malai* is probably the peninsula of Malacca. *Al Jauah*, or Java, was known for its valuable spices, and for its volcanoes, which, after a quiescence of many ages, broke out afresh in the middle of the last century. *Serendib*, or Ceylon, was known more familiarly: the Arabian travellers of the ninth century enlarge on its mines of precious stones, on the idols of solid gold, on the assemblies of learned men occupied in writing the lives of their prophets, and expositions of the sacred laws. A great number of Jews and Manichæans resided at that time in Ceylon. "Here," says Abuzeid, "travellers stay two months, allured by the beauty of the country, which is decked with trees and verdure, water and meads, and blessed with wholesome air. Here you may buy a sheep for half a drachm, and for the same money, as much drink as will suffice for many persons. This drink is made of palm honey, boiled and prepared with the *tari* (toddy), or juice which runs from the tree."

The same writer adverts, in simple but accurate lan-

guage, to the variety of uses to which that invaluable gift of nature, the cocoa-nut tree, is converted in the Indian Archipelago. "There are people," he says, "at Oman, who cross over to the islands (the Laccadives), that produce the cocoa-nut, carrying with them carpenters' and all such tools; and having felled as much wood as they want, they let it dry, strip off the leaves, and with the bark of the tree they spin a yarn, wherewith they sew the planks together, and so build a ship. Of the same wood they cut and round away a mast; of the leaves they weave their sails, and the bark they work into cordage. Having thus completed their vessel, they load her with cocoa-nuts, which they bring and sell at Oman. Thus from the cocoa-nut tree alone so many articles are convertible to use as suffice not only to build and rig out a vessel, but to load her when she is completed and in trim to sail."

Among the kingdoms of India enumerated by the early Arabian geographers, the most remarkable was that of the *Balhara*, or *Great Lord*: the other Indian princes acknowledged, we are told, the pre-eminence of the Balhara. The dominions of the dynasty which bore this title appears to have been on the western side of the peninsula, embracing the countries of the Nizam and of Guzerat. Yet the territories of the king of kings, as the Balhara was also styled, are said to have extended from *Kamkam* (Concan), as far as the frontiers of China. He was surpassed, nevertheless, in military strength, by the king of *Burat* (Behar), who kept on foot four armies, each of 700,000 men; and by the king of *Rahmi*, who could take the field at the head of 50,000 elephants. These calculations are evidently exaggerated. The apparently hyperbolical praises bestowed on the fine fabrics of India rest on a better foundation. Cotton stuffs were manufactured there of such exquisite delicacy, that a garment made of them could be easily drawn through a ring of moderate size.

But among all the curiosities of India, none seized more firmly on the imagination of the Arabians than

the famous *Kardandan*, or *unicorn*, which has but one horn on his forehead, and thereon a round spot with the representation of a man." This wondrous animal is described by them as less than the elephant, and resembling the buffalo from the neck downwards. "His hoof," says Wahab, "is not cloven, and from his hoof to his shoulder he is all of a piece. His flesh is not forbidden, and we have eaten of it: on the horns are seen the figures of men, peacocks, fishes, and other resemblances. The Chinese adorn their girdles with those figures; so that some of those girdles are worth two or three thousand pieces of gold in China, or even more, the price augmenting with the beauty of the figure." Such is the apparently veracious account given of an animal which has never yet been seen by an intelligent European, but the existence of which is still said to be affirmed in India.

The descriptions which are transmitted to us by the Arabian geographers of the states of central Asia are still in many respects the most complete accounts which we possess of those interesting countries. *Mawarelnahr*, or the *country of the great waters*, was the most northern province subdued by the successors of Mahomet. It comprised the countries which are watered by the Sihon and Gihon, or Oxus and Jaxartes, and is described by all the writers of the East as an earthly paradise; surpassing every other country on earth in beauty and fertility, in the density of its population, and the salubrity of its climate. "You may travel in *Al Sogd*," says Ibn Haukal, "and find the country presenting for eight days together the appearance of one delicious garden: on all sides are villages, rich fields of corn, orchards loaded with fruit; meadows and clear streams; with canals and reservoirs, which complete the picture of industry and happiness." That country, acording to the same writer, is as remarkable for the hospitality of its inhabitants as for its natural attractions. In every town, and even in every little village, were inns and caravansaries, provided with all that is necesssary for the accommodation of travellers.

The Arabians very soon extended their conquests to the Caucasus; and although at first they mingled a large share of fable with their accounts of that region, where nature seems to rear such formidable obstacles to the progress of man, yet they soon learned to carry on a very extensive commerce with the nations to the west and north of the Caspian Sea. Caswini says that the Caucasian isthmus contained 800 districts, in each of which the inhabitants spoke a different language. The country of the Alans he describes as extensive and singularly fertile: it was covered with gardens and villages: figs, dates, and chestnuts grew there in incredible profusion, and were transported to all parts of the world. The Alans were not governed by a national chief or king; but every little tribe had its own ruler.

Abuzeid, who travelled into China in the ninth century, seems to have believed that the Caspian Sea was united on the one side with the Northern Ocean, and on the other with the Mediterranean; but Caswini knew that it was an inland sea, supplied as he says, by great rivers which never decrease. He reports at the same time the common opinion, that it has a subterranean communication with the Black Sea. "The Atel or Volga," says Yacout, "comes from the extremities of the North: it crosses Bulgaria, Russia, Khazaria, and flows into the sea of Merghah. Merchants ascend it as far as *Waïsou* (the White Sea), whence they bring back the skins of martens and ermines and other valuable furs."

The country round the Volga was called by the Arabians Khazaria, from the Khazars who dwelt in the great plains to the north of the Caucasus and Caspian Sea, and who had reached the height of their power in the ninth century. Although a formidable nation they had not emerged from the rude simplicity of the nomadic state. They dwelt in tents covered with felt, like the Tataric hordes who inhabit at the present day the southern provinces of Russia. The house in which their king resided was, according to Bacui, the only stone edifice in the country.

To the east of the Khazars dwelt the *Ghuz* or Uzes, and beyond these again were a people called *Alodcosh*, who are described as having broad faces, small eyes, and bushy hair. To the north of the Khazars were the *Bulgars*, or Bulgarians. This people inhabited the country between the Don and Volga, where these rivers approach to within a little distance of one another: their capital, called Bulgar, was on the left bank of the Volga: its ruins, consisting of towers, mosques, and other monuments, are still visible at a little distance from the modern Simbirsk. "The country of the Bulgarians," says Caswini, "extends very far towards the north: the winter's day is but five hours long: some say that it is not long enough to admit of the four regular prayers, and the ceremonies which attend them." Yacout describes the city of Bulgar as built of fir, the external walls alone being of oak: it was a journey of two months from Constantinople. The country was excessively cold, and covered with snow during the whole winter. Tusks, like those of the elephant's, were found in the ground, and were as white as ivory. Thus it appears that the fossil ivory of Siberia was an article of trade many centuries ago.

The Russians are described by the Arabian geographers as an abominably filthy people: they bathed themselves every morning in the dirtiest water they could find. They were addicted to drunkenness: spent whole days and nights in carousing and drinking wine; and not unfrequently died with the cups in their hands, from excess and intoxication. They always burned their dead; and at the funeral of a man of rank one of his favourite women was sacrificed on his tomb. The Arabians had some knowledge of the northern kingdoms of Europe: they speak of England (*Antharcat*), Ireland, Denmark, and other countries of the North, in brief but correct terms; but they appear to have had a more intimate acquaintance with the Sclavonian nations. They describe the country of the Sclavonians as rich and populous, filled with numerous and commercial towns. It is remark-

able, also, that the Arabian geographers mention the Bohemians and Hungarians by their proper appellations, *Czechs* and *Madgyars*. From these circumstances it may be conjectured, that the Sclavonians maintained some commercial correspondence with the Arabians in the east of Europe, and bartered with them the productions of the North.

There is no doubt that Arabians frequented in great numbers the cities of Bulgar and Atel, or Astrachan: their own accounts tend to confirm the proofs afforded by the ancient monuments of those cities. There is reason to believe also that their commerce extended across Russia to the Baltic, and to Scandinavia: they exchanged the rich productions of the East for the fish and peltry of the North. Arabian coins are found in many parts of Russia, along the Volga, and northwards even as far as the White Sea; but in no part of Europe have they been met with in such abundance as in Prussia, Pomerania, and the other countries near the Baltic. And what is more remarkable, all the Arabian coins found in the North are of a date anterior to 1010, and belong to the califs of Bagdad, to Irak, or Khorasan, or to the countries of Balkh, Bokhara, Samarcand, or some other of the rich commercial countries of Inner Asia. Not a single coin has been found near the Baltic belonging to Palestine, Egypt, Barbary, or any other country from which the crusaders might have brought them.[4] It is, therefore, highly probable that the nations of the north of Europe carried on, during the middle ages, a considerable commerce with the Arabs in the East, through the agency of the Sclavonians.

The successors of Mahomet soon extended their dominion over Africa: they over-ran that continent as far as Sofala, on the south-eastern coast, and to the Niger in the interior. Along the western shore their knowledge extended not far beyond Cape Boyador. The rich country of the interior attracted a multitude of settlers: perhaps, from the remoteness of its situation, cut off as

[4] Rasmussen. Journ. Asiat. vi.

it is from an easy access by the surrounding deserts, it seemed to offer a secure retreat to all who had any thing to fear from political convulsions; and it probably received all those who fled from the intestine divisions of the Chalifate. Certain it is, however, that before the eleventh century several kingdoms were erected on the banks of the Niger, in which Mahometans formed a numerous and the ruling part of the population. The greatest of all these kingdoms was that of Ghana, situated on the eastern part of the Niger, or, as the Arabians call it, the Nile of the negroes. The king was absolute over his own subjects, though he acknowledged the supremacy of the Abasside calif.

The magnificence of this sovereign's court, the number of tame elephants, and camelopards, which formed part of his train, and the masses of native gold which adorned his throne, are all mentioned by the Arabian writers in terms of admiration. But this splendour seems to have belonged wholly to the prince; and the Arabian population, the mass of the people, were still clad in the skins of beasts, and possessed neither industry nor civilisation. To the king of Ghana belonged also *Wangara*, or the land of gold. To the west of Ghana was situated the kingdom of *Tocrur*, in which was a city of the same name, together with those of *Sala* and *Berissa*. The Nile of the Negroes flowed also through Tocrur, and at a distance of sixteen days' journey from Sala fell into the sea. At some distance from the shore was the island of Ulil, from which the states of Nigritia were supplied with salt. The kingdom of Tocrur, which appears to have been situated near the gulf of Benin, though enriched by an active commerce, was yet considered inferior to that of Ghana. The kingdom of Timbuctoo is of comparatively recent origin.

To the south of these kingdoms lay the extensive country called *Lamlam*, the savage inhabitants of which were hunted by the nations on the Niger, and sold to the slave merchants of Barbary and Egypt. The same

practice still continues: slaves are a staple merchandise of central Africa; and the defenceless negroes are pursued as unrelentingly at present as in the days of Herodotus. Beyond Lamlam the Arabians had no knowledge of any inhabited countries; and influenced by the usual pride of science, they doubted, in consequence, whether any existed. They were acquainted, however, with the kingdoms of *Zaghara*, *Kanem*, and *Kuku*, which are probably comprised in the *Bornou* of modern travellers. The king of Kuku kept a splendid court, and maintained a numerous, well-appointed army: the merchants and nobility wore superb dresses, with ornaments of gold; but the lower orders were as poor and ill clad as in the other negro states.

The Arabians had but a limited acquaintance with Nubia and Abyssinia, in which the Christian religion firmly resisted the doctrines of Mahomet; the necessities of trade, however, induced the merchants of both regions to acquiesce in respecting a neutral frontier, and they met accordingly, near the cataracts of Syene, for the purpose of exchanging their commodities.

Eastern Africa, from Egypt to Cape Corientes, was frequented by the Arabians in the tenth century: they soon established, in that quarter, their faith and their dominion. The names which they gave to the nations of that country are retained at the present day. The cities of Melinda, Mombaza, and Sofala, were already flourishing in the twelfth century. The country in which these cities were situated was called *Zanguebar*, or the country of the *Zinges*. The Arabian geographers also placed in the peninsula of India a people called *Zinges*, who were distinguished from the Hindoos by the darkness of their complexion. Thus the *Zinges* of the Arabians correspond with the *Æthiopians* of the Greeks, as well as with the *Sanchas*, or Troglodytes, of the Hindoo geographers. Like these latter also, the Arabians believed that the continents of Africa and Asia were united in the Southern Ocean. Madagascar, there is reason to believe, was known and even colonised

by the Arabians in an early age. To the south of Zanguebar was the country called *War-war*, which seems to be the *Makooa* country of modern maps.

In the West the knowledge of the Arabian geographers was, perhaps, as extensive, if not so correct, as those of the Romans. The Fortunate Islands were known to them by the name of *Chaledat*, or the *Perpetual Islands*. On these islands were said to be colossal statues, pointing towards the West, so as to indicate to mariners the danger or impossibility of continuing the voyage in that direction. The erection of these statues was attributed to *Dhou'lkarnïn*, or the *Two-horned*, as Alexander the Great is called in the East. He is adopted by Oriental writers, as Hercules, Bacchus, and Sesostris were adopted by the Greeks, as the founder of every monument, the origin of which is not historically known. The Atlantic, or the *Sea of Darkness*, as the ocean is generally called by them, was but little known to the Arabians. Much fable is mixed with all that they relate concerning it. The island of *Mustakkin*, filled with serpents, recalls to mind the *Ophiusa* of the Carthaginians; and perhaps it owed its existence to an ancient tradition, like the *Cimmerian* darkness of the ocean. The inhabitants of the isle of *Kulkan* had the heads of marine monsters. *Laka* abounded with odoriferous woods. The Arabians, in omitting to state distances, have left an open field for conjectures; and there have not been wanting some who maintain, that by those lands of monsters and of perfumes we ought to understand the continent of America, or at least the islands of the West Indies.

There is very little reason, however, to believe that the Arabians were accustomed to make distant voyages on the ocean or *Sea of Darkness*. The only evidence that they ever attempted such a navigation is found in the remarkable story of the *Almagrurim* related in nearly the same words by Ibn el Vardi and Edrisi. The former of these writers, after describing Lisbon, adds, that eight persons from that city, curious to know what was

beyond the sea, equipped a vessel with all necessary provisions for a long voyage, and swore not to return till they had found the end of the sea and the land at the west. They advanced eleven days in the open sea, and then twelve days more in a sea of unfathomable depth with immense waves. The winds carried them to the south, and they at last arrived at an island to which they gave the name of *Ganam*, or the island of sheep; but the flesh of the sheep which they found there was too bitter to be eaten. They took water, however, and continuing their voyage towards the south, on the twelfth day discovered an inhabited island. The men were large and red. At the end of three days an Arabian interpreter came to them in order to learn the purpose of their voyage. The king being made acquainted with their intentions, told them that he had sent persons to explore the ocean, who, having sailed westward for a month, were surprised with a thick darkness and forced to return. The adventurers from Lisbon, hearing that they were a month's sail from home, hastened to return; and in memory of that event a quarter of the city received the name of *Almagrurim*, the *Wanderers*, a name which it retained in the time of Ibn el Vardi, who died in 1358. This attempt to reach the end of the ocean was made in 1147, and was probably not the only enterprise of the kind: in 1291 a similar attempt was made by two Genoese, of whose fate or success, however, no account remains.

Some have supposed, and De Guignes among the rest, that the *red men* mentioned in this account must have been Americans; but it is much more likely that they were Normans, who are not unfrequently called red men in the East. As there was an Arabian interpreter on the island, and the distance from Lisbon was known, the coast of Africa was probably not far off; and in fine, the Almagrurim seem not to have sailed beyond the Canary islands.

CHAP. II.

TRAVELS OF IBN BATUTA.

IBN BATUTA SETS OUT ON THE PILGRIMAGE.—ASCENDS THE NILE. RETURNS TO GAZA. — THE BATHS OF TIBERIAS. — THE MOSQUE OF THE FOOT. — MIRACLES AT MESHID ALI. — SHIRAZ. — BAGDAD. — MECCA. — VISITS YEMEN — AND ABYSSINIA. — THE BERBERS. — THE ZUNUJ. — ZAFAR. — THE FRANKINCENSE TREE. — ORMUZ. — FARS. — SECOND PILGRIMAGE. — GOES THROUGH UPPER EGYPT TO CAIRO — JERUSALEM — ANATOLIA. THE TURKOMANS. — SOCIETY CALLED THE BROTHERHOOD. — ERZERUM. — FALL OF AEROLITES. — SHOWERS OF FISHES.— THE OTTOMAN PRINCES. — IBN BATUTA GOES TO CRIM. — DESERT OF KIPJAK. — TATAR CAMP. — CITY OF BULGAR.— SHORTNESS OF THE NIGHTS. —SIBERIAN TRAVELLING. — SINGULAR MODE OF TRAFFIC. — THE RUSSIANS. — IBN BATUTA ACCOMPANIES A GREEK PRINCESS TO CONSTANTINOPLE.—THE PROCESSION.—HIS RECEPTION.—ACCOUNT OF THAT CITY.—HISTORICAL DIFFICULTIES. — GREEK CUSTOMS IMITATED BY THE TURKS.—PIOUS WISH OF EL HARAWI.

ALTHOUGH, as has been already observed, the greater part of the geographical works transmitted to us by the Arabians are quite divested of the interest of a personal narrative, yet a few volumes of Arabian travels have been preserved, which are worthy objects of curious attention, if it were merely for the strong contrast they exhibit between the Oriental and European modes of thinking and viewing the same object. Among these the travels of the Sheikh Ibn Batuta hold a foremost rank: they embrace all the countries which may be considered as peculiarly belonging to Arabian geography; they adduce some very singular instances of the wide diffusion of the Arabs through the East, and are strongly marked with all the national characteristics. Ibn Batuta may be fairly numbered among the most remarkable travellers of any age or country. The only account of his manifold peregrinations which is known to exist is unfortunately but an extract from an epitome; and by

this twofold abridgment it is but just to suppose that the original has lost not a little of its interest. Hasty and superficial notices of the most important places, dry catalogues of names, and the enumeration of the tombs of saints, occupy too large a portion of the volume; but yet these travels are interesting and important, whether considered critically or in a general view. They belong to the fourteenth century, and are consequently posterior in order of time to the narratives of several important travellers from the West, whose writings must occupy our attention further on; but yet, from the Oriental peculiarity which pervades them, they will be found to anticipate but seldom the observations of European travellers, while they form an excellent supplement to an outline of the Arabian geography.

The theologian Abu Abd Mohammed Ibn Abd Allah El Lawati, known by the surname of Ibn Batuta, left his native city, Tangiers, for the purpose of performing the pilgrimage, in the 725th year of the Hegira. (A. D. 1324–5.) As he set forth with pious intentions, he seems to have been particularly anxious, wherever he arrived, to seek out all the saints, whether among the living or the dead. One of the greatest saints in Alexandria, when he arrived there, was the learned and pious Imam, Borhan Oddin El Aaraj, a man who had the power of working miracles. When Ibn Batuta paid him a visit one day, the Imam said to him, I perceive you are fond of visiting distant countries; to this the other replied in the affirmative, although he had no intention at that time of travelling into distant countries. The Imam then said, "You must visit my brother Farid Oddin in India, and my brother Rokn Oddin Ibn Zakarya in Sindia, and also my brother Borhan Oddin in China, and when you see them, present my compliments to them." Our pilgrim was astonished at this discourse, and determined with himself to visit those countries; nor did he give up his purpose till he had met all the three persons mentioned, and presented the Imam's compliments to them.

Ibn Batuta, after travelling for some time through the cities of the Delta, at length arrived at Cairo. In alluding to the Nile, he makes a short digression, which displays his geographical knowledge. "The Nile," he says, "which runs through this country, excels, by much, all other rivers in the sweetness of its taste, the length of its course, and the extent of the benefits it confers. It is one of the five great rivers of the world, which are the Nile itself, the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Sihun, and the Jaihun, or Gihon. Five others rivers also may be compared with these, namely, the river of Sindia (the Indus), which is called the Penj-ab, or five waters; the river of India, which is called the Gung (or Ganges), to which the Indians perform their pilgrimages, and into which they throw the ashes of their dead when burnt: they say it descends from Paradise; also the river Jun (or Jumna), the river Athil (Volga), in the deserts of Kipjack, and the river Saro in Tartary, upon the bank of which is the city of Khan Balikh (Pekin,) and which flows from that place to El Kansa, and thence to the city of Zaitun in China.' The course of the Nile, moreover, is from south to north, contrary to that of all other rivers.

From Cairo Ibn Batuta proceeded through Egypt to the borders of Nubia; but the disturbances that existed in that country prevented his continuing his journey towards the south, so he returned down the Nile, and went on to Gaza, where he found the graves of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of their wives. Every learned man he met with considered it a fact, that those patriarchs and their wives lay buried there; "nor does any one," says our traveller, "think of contradicting accounts so generally received from the ancients, but the heretics." From Tyre, which he found a wonderfully strong place, surrounded on three sides by water, he hastened to Tiberias, which he particularly wished to see; but he found there nothing but the warm springs and ruins of great extent.

The baths of Tiberias, which were perhaps the objects

of his curiosity, are described at greater length by El Harawi:—"The baths of Tiberias," says this writer, "which are accounted among the wonders of the world, are not those situated near the gates of Tiberias and upon the side of the lake, for many such as these are to be seen elsewhere; but the wonderful baths are in a valley to the east of the city called El Hosainiya. The structure in which they are embraced is evidently of great antiquity, and is said to have been built by Solomon. It consists of a pile of building, from the front of which issues water. The water came formerly from twelve places, each of which was appropriated to the cure of some disease; so that when any one thus afflicted washed himself, he was cured by divine permission. This water is excessively hot, and is very pure and sweet, both to the taste and smell. The fountains run into a large and handsome reservoir, in which the people bathe. The advantages of these baths are evident, nor have we elsewhere seen any thing like them, except the *Thermæ*, which are in the neighbourhood of Constantinople."

Our traveller next proceeded through the fortresses of the Fidawia or Ismailiah, who are more commonly known by the name of the Assassins; then to Mount Libanus, the most fruitful mountain in the world, abounding with various fruits, with springs of water and leafy shades, and covered with the cells of hermits retired from the world; from this place he went by Baalbeck to Damascus, but unfortunately his epitomater has refused us a circumstantial account of those remarkable cities. The anecdotes of saints, however, and of holy relics, are carefully preserved. Among these the following is singular:—"Outside of Damascus," says Ibn Batuta, "on the way of the pilgrimage, is the *Mosque of the Foot*, which is held in great estimation, and in which is preserved a stone, having upon it the print of the foot of Moses. In this mosque they offer up prayers in times of distress. I myself was present at this mosque in the year 746 (A. D. 1345), when the people were assembled for the purpose of prayer against the plague, which ceased on

that very day. The number that died daily in Damascus had been two thousand; but the whole daily number when I was present amounted to twenty-four thousand. After prayers, however, the plague entirely ceased." The mortality here mentioned is, perhaps, less credible than the miracle. But the stone bearing the impression of a foot merits some consideration. Monuments of this kind are generally supposed to be remains of Buddhaïsm, yet it is possible, although they seem at present to belong properly to that religion, that they may have claims to a much higher antiquity. The mark of a foot, seen by Herodotus near the river Tyras, was ascribed to Hercules. A similar impression in Ceylon, or among the Burmese, would be called the foot of Buddha: in Damascus it was thought to be the foot of Moses. The great distance between the countries in which this singular sort of monument has been found, and its existence at Damascus, tend equally to prove its great antiquity. It is remarkable that those druidical monuments, as they are commonly thought to be, which are called Cairns, are to be found in Judea, and at no great distance from Jerusalem.

From Damascus, Ibn Batuta set out on his pilgrimage to the tomb of the prophet at Medina. On his way he passed through the town of Meshed Ali; a place rendered opulent by the offerings of pilgrims. In this resort of enthusiasts miracles were common. "On the 17th of the month Rajab," says our traveller, "cripples came from the countries of Fars, Room, Khorasan, and Irak, and assembled in parties of from twenty to thirty in number. They are placed over the grave of Ali soon after sunset. People then, some praying, some reciting the Koran, and others prostrating themselves, wait expecting their recovery, and rising when about night, they all get up sound and well. This is a matter well known among them: I heard it from creditable persons." This miracle is called in the East "the night of revival."

Our traveller appears to have, for this time, abandoned

his intention of visiting Medina. He went to Basra or Bassorah, and then made the tour of Irak; in which country he was treated with honour, receiving from the prince a present of money to defray his travelling expenses for himself and his companions. The restless Musulman, "having finished the districts belonging to the king of Irak on the tenth day," entered those of Ispahan. Respecting this city or Shiraz, which he next arrived at, he states no particulars. He avows, indeed, that his sole object in visiting the latter was to see the sheikh Magd Oddin—the paragon of saints and worker of miracles. In Shiraz, also, was the tomb of the Imām Abu Abd Allah, respecting whom our author remarks, that he was the person who made known the way from India to the mountain of Serendib, and who wandered about the mountains in the island of Ceylon. By this we are perhaps to understand that it was he who first brought that pilgrimage into vogue among the Mahometans. While the Imām wandered through the mountains of Ceylon, in company with about thirty faquirs, his companions, suffering exceedingly from hunger, ventured, contrary to his advice, to kill and eat an elephant. When they had all gone to sleep, the elephants came in a body, and smelling one of them, put him to death; then they came to the sheikh, but, having smelled him, they did him no injury. One of them, however, took him up with his trunk, and carried him to some houses, where he layed him down gently, and then marched off. This affair procured the sheikh great honour among the people of Ceylon. Ibn Batuta went next to Bagdad, which, notwithstanding all the injuries it had lately sustained, was still a city of the first importance. From that place he paid a visit to Tebriz, travelled among the Curds, and immediately afterwards set out for Medina and Mecca, where he remained three years.

From Mecca our unwearied traveller set out with the merchants who were going to Yemen: here he visited all the chief cities, and then crossed from Aden to Zaila, a port of Abyssinia. "This," he says, "is a city of the

Berbers, a people of Soudan, of the Shafia sect: their country is a desert of two months' extent. The first part is called *Zaila*, the last *Makdashu*." This is the *Magadocia* of the Portuguese. The food of the people was camel's flesh and fish: the stench of the country was insupportable, from the smell of the fish and the blood of the camels slaughtered in the streets. At Makdashu or Magadocia, fifteen days' sail from Zaila, the luxuries of the table appear to have been in abundance; and our author speaks in complacent terms of the Elkushan, or fricassee, the plantains boiled in new milk, the preserved lemon, pepper-pods, and green ginger: these delicacies were not touched till the unrefined cravings of hunger were subdued, and moderated by a meal of rice. "The people of Makdashu," he observes, "are very corpulent: they are enormous eaters; one of them eating as much as a congregation ought to do."

From Makdashu he proceeded by sea to the country of the *Zanuj* (the Zinges or inhabitants of Zanguebar), thence to the island of *Mambasa* or Mombas, and returning to *Kulwa* on the coast of the Zunuj, he sailed from that place to Zafar, "the farthest city of Yemen, and situated on the shore of the Indian sea:" he found it to be a filthy though a much frequented place, and full of flies, on account of the great quantity of fish and dates exposed there for sale. The people fed their cattle and flocks also with fish, a custom which he observed no where else. From Zafar horses were exported to India, and with a fair wind the passage was made in a month: in the present day it would hardly occupy ten days. Half a day's journey beyond Zafar he found the city of El Ahkaf, in the neighbourhood of which were rich gardens, crowned with the luxuriance of Indian vegetation; the betel-tree twining round the stem of the cocoa-nut. Proceeding along the Arabian coast towards Ammān or Oman, he first saw the incense-tree at Hasik: when this tree is scarified, a fluid like milk runs from it, which hardens in a short time, and is then called *lobān*, or frankincense. The houses here were built of the

bones of fish, and covered with the skins of camels. In the cities of Oman the flesh of the domestic ass was eaten, and sold in the streets as lawful food.

From Arabia our traveller crossed to *Hormuz*, or Ormuz, a city on the sea-shore; "but opposite to this," he adds, "is new *Hormuz*, an island, the capital of which is called *Harauna*." Thus it appears that the island called *Organa* by the ancients received a colony from Ormuz or Armezeia, and gradually changed its name. Here Ibn Batuta saw the strangest sight he had ever beheld: this was the head of a fish, "that might be compared to a hill: its eyes were like two doors, so that people could go in at one eye and out at the other." This is a moderate statement when compared with that of the Greeks under Nearchus; who, towards the end of their voyage up the Persian Gulf, had an opportunity of measuring a whale that had gone aground near *Mesambria*, perhaps on the strands at Rohilla point. Those of the party who approached near enough to examine the monster reported it to be fifty cubits long, with a hide a cubit in thickness; beset with shell-fish, barnacles, and sea-weeds, and attended by dolphins larger than those seen in the Mediterranean. From the reports of ancient writers it would appear that the whale was formerly a frequent visitor of the Persian Gulf.

Leaving Ormuz, Ibn Batuta spent some time in the Persian province of Fars, and visited the pearl fisheries; passed from Siraf, one of the chief shipping ports of the Persian Gulf, to Bahrein, where the houses are often overwhelmed with the sand of the desert; then to Kotaif, where dates are so abundant as to constitute the chief food of the cattle; and shortly after set out on a second pilgrimage to Mecca, where he arrived in the year 733 of the Hegira (A. D. 1332), three years after his former visit.

The pilgrimage being performed, our traveller again set forward, and directed his way to Judda, intending to cross the sea from Yemen to India; but unfavourable winds forced him back to a port called Ras Dawair; and

as it appears to have been of little moment with him in what direction his journey lay, he joined the company of some Bedoween Arabs, and crossing a desert filled with ostriches and gazelles, passed into Upper Egypt, and so on to Cairo. After resting a few days at Cairo, he hastened forwards to Syria, Jerusalem, Tripoli, and so on by sea to the country of *Room*, and the district of Anatolia.

Among the Turkomans in Anatolia there appears to have existed a form of primitive hospitality which our Moorish traveller did not perfectly understand; for such a practice as the following can hardly have arisen in the East from voluntary association: — "In all the Turkoman towns," he relates, "there is a *Brotherhood of Youths*, one of whom in particular is styled, *my Brother*. No people are more courteous to strangers, more readily supply them with food and other necessaries, or are more opposed to oppressors than they are. The person styled *the Brother* is one about whom individuals of the same occupation, or even friendless strangers, collect and constitute him their president. He then builds a cell, and puts into it a horse, saddle, and whatever else may be necessary; he also attends on his companions, and in the evening they all meet together, bringing whatever they may have collected for the use of the cell. Should a stranger arrive among them, they cheerfully maintain him till he leaves the country. The members of this association are styled *the Youths*, and the president *the Brother*." Ibn Batuta experienced the kindness of this society as soon as he arrived in Anatolia. A man came to him, in order to invite him and his companions to a feast. Our traveller was astonished that one who looked so poor should think of feasting so many; but was informed, that this man was one of the brotherhood, a company of two hundred silk merchants, who had a cell of their own; he therefore consented, and witnessed their extraordinary kindness and liberality. Scenes of this kind occurred to him frequently among the Turkomans. On one occasion, when entering a town, he found himself

suddenly surrounded by a number of persons, who seised the reins of his horse, and caused him great alarm; but some one, who could speak Arabic, coming up, said that they were contending as to who should entertain him, as they belonged to the Society of Youths. Upon this he felt safe: the young men cast losts; and Ibn Batuta with his party proceeded to the mansion of the winners.

Visiting all the chief cities of Anatolia or Asia Minor, he at length came to Erzeroum. There the king enquired of him one day whether he had ever seen a stone that had fallen from heaven; he answered in the negative. Such a stone, continued the king, has fallen in the environs of our city; he then ordered some men to bring it in: it was a black, shining, and exceedingly hard substance, not yielding to the hammer, and weighing above a talent. This is not the only mention of the fall of aerolites which occurs in Arabian writers. They tell of a shower of stones, which fell in the province of Africa Proper, and killed all who were beneath it. They also relate that a stone was one day brought to the Calif Motawekkel, which had fallen from the air in Tabaristan; it weighed 840 rotl *: the noise it made in falling was heard at a distance of four parasangs in all directions, and it buried itself in the ground five cubits deep. Many other similar instances are mentioned by them; and the observations of modern philosophers leaves no room to doubt the correctness of their accounts. But Jahedh relates a meteoric phenomenon of a much more extraordinary kind. At Aïdhadj, a city between Ispahan and Kuzistan, as he narrates it, there was seen a dense, black cloud, so close to the earth that it might be almost touched with the head: there issued from it noises like the cries of a male camel. The cloud at last broke, and there fell from it so terrible a rain, that it seemed as if the earth were about to suffer from a second deluge. After this the cloud threw forth frogs and shabbuts (a sort of fish) of great size These were eaten by the

* 620 lbs avoirdupois.

people, or laid up in store. It is an incontestable fact that the volcanoes of the Cordilleras throw up immense quantities of fish; and although a shower of fish is not very easily explained without the agency of a volcano, yet nature is so full of wonders, that even in the present enlarged state of knowledge, it would be perhaps presumptuous to deny the fact altogether.

Ibn Batuta appears to have visited all the principal towns and Turkish rulers in Anatolia; and it is to be regretted that he has left us so brief a notice of one of the ablest and most successful princes of the Ottoman family, which in his time was rapidly rising into ascendency. "I went," he says, "to the city of Brusa, which is a large place, and governed by Ikhtiyar Oddin Urkhan Beg, son of Othman Juk. This is one of the greatest, richest, and most extensive in rule, and commanding the greatest army of all the Turkoman kings: his practice is to be constantly visiting his fortresses and districts, and to be enquiring into their circumstances. It is said that he never remains a month in any one place."

From Castemooni Batuta crossed the Black Sea to Crim. The desert of Kipjak he describes as green and productive, but without tree, mountain, hill, or wood in it. It was usually travelled over in a sort of cart called *arba*, the journey being one of six months. Our traveller hired one of these carts to proceed to the city of El Kafa, which belonged to Mohammed Uzbek Khan. The khan was at that time encamped with his retinue in a place called *Bish Tag*, or Five Mountains, where Batuta arrived on the first of the month Ramadan. He was struck with the spectacle of a moving city presented by the camp with its mosques and cooking-houses, the smoke from which trained behind as they moved along. The sultan received him graciously, and sent him a sheep, a horse, and a leathern bag of koomis, or mares' milk, the favourite Tatar beverage.

Batuta had heard of the city of Bulgar, and had conceived a strong desire to see it, in order that he might have an opportunity of observing how far the reported

severity of its climate, and the inequality of its nights and days, were truth or fiction. It was situated at a distance of ten days' journey from the Tatar camp. He set out with a guide appointed by the sultan, and found on his arrival that the accounts of former travellers were perfectly correct. It was summer-time when he visited *Bulgar*; and the nights were then so short, that before he had finished the prayer of sunset, the time of evening prayer came on, which he hastily ran over; he then said the prayer of midnight, and that called El Witr; but before he had ended he was overtaken by the dawn.

"In Bulgar," says Batuta, "I was told of the land of darkness, and certainly had a great desire to go to it from that place. The distance was a journey of forty days. I was diverted, therefore, from the undertaking, both on account of its great danger and the little good to be derived from it. I was told that there was no travelling thither except upon little sledges, which are drawn by large dogs; and that during the whole of the journey the roads are covered with ice, upon which neither the feet of man nor the hoofs of beasts can take any hold. These dogs, however, have nails by which their feet take firm hold on the ice. No one enters these parts except powerful merchants, each of whom has, perhaps, a hundred such sledges as these, which they load with provisions, drinks, and wood; for neither trees, stones, nor houses are met with there. The guide in this country is the dog, who has gone the journey several times, the price of which will amount to about a thousand dinars. The sledge is harnessed to his neck, and with him three other dogs are joined, he, however, being the leader. The others then follow him with the sledge, and when he stops they stop. The master never strikes or reprimands this dog; and when he proceeds to take his meals the dogs are fed first; for if this were not done they would become enraged, and perhaps run away, and leave their master to perish. When the travellers have completed their forty days or stages through this desert, they arrive at the land of darkness, and each man leaving

what he has brought with him, goes back to his appointed station. On the morrow they return to look for their goods, and find, instead of them, sable, ermine, and the fur of the sinjab. If, then, the merchant likes what he finds, he takes it away; if not, he leaves it, and more is added to it. Upon some occasions, however, these people will take back their own goods, and leave those of the merchants. In this way is their buying and selling carried on; for the merchants know not whether it is with mankind or demons that they have to do, not a soul being seen during the transaction. It is one of the properties of these furs that no vermin ever enters them."

He returned from this tour to the camp of the sultan, whom he accompanied to Astrachan, situated on the *Athil*, or Volga, one of the greatest rivers of the world. Here the sultan always resided during the very cold weather; and when the Volga and adjoining rivers were frozen over, the Tatars spread some thousand bundles of hay upon the ice, and on this they travelled.

It appears that one of the wives of the Tatar khan was a daughter of the emperor of Constantinople: this princess obtained leave to pay a visit to her father, and our author also was permitted to accompany her. The queen, who is here named Bailun, was attended in her journey by five thousand of the khan's army, about five hundred of whom were cavalry. "At the distance of one day from El Sarai," says our author, "are the mountains of the Russians, who are Christians, with red hair and blue eyes, an ugly and perfidious people. They have mines of silver; and from their country are the *suwam* or pieces of silver bullion brought, each piece weighing five ounces."

When the cavalcade reached the fortress of Mahtuli, on the frontiers of the empire, (which still extended, as it appears, a distance of two-and-twenty days' journey to the north,) the emperor, attended by the ladies of his court, set out with a large army to meet the princess. She had brought with her a mosque, which she set up at every stage during the former part of her journey; but

she left it behind at Mahtuli, the office of nuezzim ceased, she drank wine, and ate swine's flesh; in short, she returned to Christianity, as soon as she entered her father's territories. She carefully enjoined, however, the officers who came out to meet her, to pay every attention to our learned theologian.

When the princess approached Constantinople, the greatest part of its inhabitants, men, women, and children, came out, attired in their finest clothes, either walking or riding, beating drums and shouting as they proceeded. When the parties mixed the pressure was so great, that it was at the peril of his life, our traveller declares, that he caught a glimse of the meeting of the princess and her relations. They entered Constantinople about sunset, and the bells were then ringing at such a rate, "that the very horizon shook with the noise."

Soon after the arrival of the princess at Constantinople, Ibn Batuta, who appears to have already excited some interest as a remarkable traveller, was introduced at court: but his relation, which, though probably correct, yet presents some historic difficulties, shall be given in his own words. "On the fourth day after our arrival," he says, "I was introduced to the sultan Takfur, son of George king of Constantinople. His father, George, was still living, but had retired from the world, become a monk, and given up the kingdom to his son. When I arrived at the fifth gate of the palace, which was guarded by soldiers, I was searched, lest I should carry any weapon with me; which is submitted to by every citizen as well as stranger, who wishes to be introduced to the king. The same is observed by the emperors of India. I was introduced, therefore, and did homage. The emperor was sitting upon his throne, with his queen and daughter, our mistress; her brothers were seated beneath the throne. I was kindly received, and asked as to my circumstances and arrival; also about Jerusalem, the Temple of the Resurrection, the cradle of Jesus, Bethlehem, and the city of Abraham (or Hebron), then of Damascus, Egypt, Irak, and the

country of Room; to all of which I gave suitable replies. A Jew was our interpreter. The king was much surprised at my tale [relating to the extent of his travels perhaps], and said to his sons, 'Let this man be treated honourably, and give him a letter of safe conduct.' He then put a dress of honour on me, and ordered a saddled horse to be given me, with one of his own umbrellas, which with them is a mark of protection. I then requested that he would appoint some one to ride with me through the different quarters of the city, that I might see them. He made the appointment accordingly, and I rode about with the officer for some days, witnessing the wonders of the place. Its largest church is that of Sancta Sophia: I saw its outside only. Its interior I could not see, because just within the door there was a cross which every one who entered was obliged to worship. It is said that this church is one of the foundations of Asaf, the son of Barachias, and nephew of Solomon. The churches, monasteries, and other places of worship within the city, are innumerable."

It is not easy to explain why our traveller should give the name of *Takfur* to the emperor Andronicus II. who was at this time (between 1332 and 1341) on the throne of Constantinople.* His assertion that the father of that prince was still living in retirement is also at variance with other accounts. That the Byzantine historians should pass over in silence those humiliating alliances of marriage between the imperial house and the Tatar princes is not very extraordinary, but it is known that Andronicus the elder offered his daughter in marriage, in 1302, to the Grand Khan of the Moguls; and many indications occur, in the early travellers, of a much more intimate correspondence existing between the courts of Constantinople and of the East than is manifested in the page of history.

* Some copies instead of Takfur read Nakfur, which might be supposed to mean Nicephorus. But this adds fresh chronological difficulties. The elder Andronicus died in 1332, according to Gibbon, the year in which Ibn Batuta performed his first pilgrimage to Mecca. See the Travels of Ibn Batuta, translated by professor Lee, 1829. p 82.

The Turks, when they became masters of Constantinople, borrowed from the Greeks many of their customs and formalities, and even the fashion of their dress. The pomp of the Ottoman court was arranged, in a great measure, in imitation of that of the Greek emperors; and it is curious to observe, that the odious custom of searching the persons of those who are admitted to the imperial presence (a custom still partially retained at the Porte, even in the case of ambassadors,) appears to be among those which the Turks have only copied from the Greeks. It is also singular, that in the fourteenth century the popular belief of the Greeks should refer the foundation of their principal church to Asaf, the nephew of Solomon.

As the brief mention which Ibn Batuta makes of the church of Sancta Sophia is confined merely to its exterior, it may not be unacceptable to the reader to hear the account which is given of it by another Arabian writer. El Harawi, who visited Constantinople in the thirteenth century, writes as follows:—"In this place are statues of brass and marble, pillars, wonderful talismans, and other monuments of greatness, to which no equal can be found in the habitable world. Here is also Ayia (Sancta) Sophia, the greatest church they have. I was told by Yakut Ibn AbdAllah, that he had entered it, and that it was just as I had described it. Within it are 360 doors, and they say that one of the angels resides there. Round about his place they have made fences of gold; and the story which they relate of him is very strange." El Harawi then promises to speak, in another place, "of the arrangement of this church, its size, height, doors, and the pillars that are in it; also of the wonders of the city, its order, the sort of fish found in it, the gate of gold, the towers of marble, the brazen elephants, and all its monuments and wonders." And in conclusion, he exclaims, "This city, which is greater than its fame, *may God of his bounty and grace make the capital of Islamism!*"

CHAP. III.

TRAVELS OF IBN BATUTA CONTINUED.

IBN BATUTA RETURNS TO TATARY. — PROCEEDS TO CHORASM. — SINGULAR CUSTOM. — BOKHARA. — ITS MOSQUE. — BALKH. — HINDOO CUSH. — THE FATHER OF THE SAINTS. — THE AFGHANS. — SIND. — RUINS NEAR LAHARI. — MODE OF LEVYING TROOPS. — DEHLI. — CHARACTER OF THE EMPEROR. — IBN BATUTA APPOINTED JUDGE. — EXPEDIENT TO RAISE MONEY. — NARROWLY ESCAPES BEING PUT TO DEATH. — TURNS FAQUIR. — CHOSEN AMBASSADOR TO CHINA. — NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE COURTS OF PEKIN AND DEHLI. — THE EMBASSAGE SETS OUT. — ATTACKED BY ROBBERS. — IBN BATUTA TAKEN PRISONER. — HIS SUFFERINGS AND ESCAPE. — CITY OF BARUN INFESTED BY YOGEES. — THE GOFTARS. — ORDEALS IN INDIA. — JOURNEY TO CALICUT. — CHINESE JUNKS. — IMPERIAL TREASURES LOST BY SHIPWRECK. — IBN BATUTA GOES TO THE MALDIVES. — IS MADE JUDGE. — MARRIES THREE WIVES. — PROCEEDS TO CEYLON. — ASCENDS ADAM'S PEAK. — KING OF THE MONKEYS. — EMBARKS AT COULAN. — CAPTURED BY PIRATES. — RETURNS TO THE MALDIVES. — VISITS BENGAL, SUMATRA, TAWALISI. — ARRIVES IN CHINA. — PAPER MONEY. — GOG AND MAGOG. — EL KHANSA. — TATAR FUNERAL. — RETURNS TO PERSIA. — MECCA. — REVISITS TANGIER. — TRAVELS IN SPAIN. — PROCEEDS TO SOUDAN. — THAGARI. — — ABU LATIN. — MALI. — THE NIGER. — HIPPOPOTAMI. — CANNIBALS. — TIMBUCTOO. — KAKAW. — BARDAMA. — NAKDA. — RETURNS, AND TAKES UP HIS RESIDENCE IN FEZ.

AFTER a stay of one month and six days in Constantinople, Ibn Batuta returned to Astrachan, where he remained a little time. Leaving Tatary he now pursued his journey into *Khavaresm* or Chorasm, through a desert ill supplied with herbage or water. But in this part of his narrative there is such a deficiency of detail, either from the haste of the traveller himself, or the fault of his abbreviator, that no interest can be found in tracing his route, except that which is excited by his indefatigable love of locomotion. Chorasm was a populous city, and appeared to him to be the largest in the possession of the Turks. The people were polite and hospitable. One singular custom, however, prevailed

among them; those who absented themselves from public worship were flogged by the priest in presence of the congregation, and fined, moreover, in a sum of five dinars. A whip was hung up in every mosque for the punishment of the neglectful. This custom is still retained in Bokhara, where the people are driven to worship with the whip. The most numerous sect in Chorasm were the Schismatics, or those who rejected predestination; but they did not care to spread abroad their heresy.

From Chorasm, Batuta went to Bokhara, which he found but imperfectly restored from the desolation poured upon it by Jengis Khan. He proceeded next to Samarcand, a rich and beautiful city, sanctified, in the devout theologian's eyes, by the tombs of numerous saints which it contained. Crossing the Gihon, he entered Khorasan, and travelling a day and night, through a desert without a habitation, arrived at Balkh, once a great city, but now in ruins. Jengis Khan had so totally destroyed it, that though the site of the town was evident enough, it was impossible to trace the arrangement of its buildings. The mosque, the Mahometan affirms, was one of the greatest in the world; its pillars were incomparable. But these were destroyed by the barbarian conqueror, in consequence of a popular belief, that a great treasure was buried beneath them for the repair of the edifice.

From Balkh, the journey lay for seven days through the mountains of Kuhistan. This hilly country was thickly strewed with villages. Ibn Batuta came next to Herat, the largest city in Khorasan after the ravages of Jengis Khan. Thence to Barwan; "in the road to which is a high mountain covered with snow, called Hindoo Cush," that is, as our author whimsically translates it, "the Hindoo slayer, because most of the slaves brought thither from India die from the intenseness of the cold." In the mountain called Bashai was a cell inhabited by an old man, called Ata Evlia, that is, the *Father of the Saints*. He was said to be three hundred and fifty years old. To Batuta, indeed, he did not ap-

pear to be above fifty. He said that every hundredth year he had a new growth of hair and teeth, and that he had been once the Rajah Aba Rahim Ratan of India, who had been buried at Multan, in the province of Sindia. These tales and reveries, however, found little to encourage them in the superstition of the Musulman, who proved rather sceptical on this occasion: he wanted the boldness of Hindoo credulity.

Candahar and Cabul were both in a ruined state when visited by our traveller. "This last is inhabited," he says, "by a people from Persia, whom they call Afghans." His testimony here, with respect to the descent of this people, is of some importance. The Afghans themselves pretend that they are descended from the Jews; and although all that is known in Europe respecting their language contradicts their assertion, yet there are learned Orientalists who are still willing to submit to the authority of the Afghan histories. These histories, however, have so little of intrinsic merit, and are of so modern a date, that the asseveration of a well-informed Oriental traveller of the fourteenth century preponderates against them. Batuta describes them as a violent and powerful people, exercising, in general, the profession of highway robbery.

Our indefatigable traveller now embarked on the Sind, which he calls the greatest river in the world, and descended to Lahari (perhaps Larry Bunder), a town situated at its mouth. At the distance of a few miles from this city were the ruins of another, in which stones in the shape of men and beasts, almost innumerable, were to be found. It was the general opinion of the country, that a great city formerly stood there, but that the inhabitants of it became so utterly lost to all piety and virtue, that God transformed them, their beasts, their herbs, and even their very seeds, into stones. He travelled next to Multan, the capital of Sindia, where he witnessed the Indian mode of levying soldiers.

On the day of the levy or review, the emir had a number of bows of various sizes placed before him, and

when any one offered himself to enlist as a bowman, he was obliged to draw one of these bows with all his might; a rank was then assigned him proportioned to his strength. In like manner those who presented themselves as horsemen ran their horses at full speed towards a drum which was suspended as a mark, and according to the effect done by their spears was their place decided.

Dehli he describes as the greatest city of Islamism in the East, combining at once both beauty and strength: it was composed, indeed, of four cities, which becoming contiguous, formed one; yet he observes that the greatest city in the world had the fewest inhabitants. Dehli, when he entered it, was a desert: the inhabitants had fled from their houses to escape the cruelty of the emperor, nor could the encouragement which was held out to new settlers restore its population.

This terrific ruler was the emperor Mohammed, son of Ghiath Oddin Toglik, descended of the Turks who were settled in the mountains of Sindia. "This emperor," according to our author, "was one of the most bountiful and splendidly munificent men where he took, but in other cases one of the most impetuous and inexorable, and very seldom indeed did it happen that pardon followed his anger." This was a dangerous kind of patron to approach; but the learned theologian, Ibn Batuta, was received with singular favour, reaped the benefits of the emperor's generosity, and fortunately escaped from his displeasure. When he was called in to the imperial presence, and had done homage, the vizier said to him, 'The lord of the world appoints you to the office of judge in Dehli; he gives you, at the same time, a dress of honour, with a saddled horse and also twelve thousand dinars for your present support; he has, moreover, appointed you a yearly salary of twelve thousand dinars, and a portion of lands in the villages which will produce annually an equal sum.' The traveller, on receiving this unexpected appointment, did homage according to custom, and withdrew. But the

emperor's munificence did not stop here. The newly-appointed judge of Dehli received another present of twelve thousand dinars, and a cell, or endowed mansion, was likewise placed at his command. Yet so great were the expenses incurred by his following the court in the expeditions of the emperor, that he shortly found himself involved in debts to the amount of fifty-five thousand dinars. This embarrassment he contrived to get rid of by an Oriental artifice. "About this time" he says, "I composed in Arabic a panegyric in praise of the emperor, and read it to him. He translated it for himself, and was wonderfully pleased with it; for the Indians are fond of Arabian poetry, and are very glad to be recorded in it. I then informed him of the debt I had incurred, which he ordered to be discharged from his own treasury, and added, 'Take care in future not to exceed the extent of your income.'"

Shortly after this, our traveller and judge experienced the anxiety of depending on the patronage of a capricious tyrant. A sheikh who had been honoured with the confidence of the emperor, for some unknown cause, had incurred his displeasure; enquiries were then made as to those who had kept company with the obnoxious individual. The judge Ibn Batuta was among the number informed against. For four days together the accused attended at the gate of the palace, while a council within sat deliberating on their fate. This was a painful situation for our judge, who had seen the victims of the emperor's suspicion shot from Balistæ, and trodden upon by elephants whose feet were cased with knives. He betook himself, however, to continued fasting, and tasted nothing but water. On the first day he repeated the sentence, "God is our support, and the most excellent patron," three-and-thirty thousand times, and after the fourth day he was delivered; but the sheikh and all the others who had visited him were put to death.

Terror-struck at this stern act of despotism, Ibn Batuta resigned the office of judge, gave all he possessed to the faquirs, and putting on the tunic of that order,

passed the various grades of mystical probation till he was able to keep a continued fast of five days; he then breakfasted on a little rice.

After this he was sent for by the emperor, and, going to the palace in his coarse tunic, was received more graciously than ever. Mohammed said to him, "I wish to send you as ambassador to the emperor of China, for I know you love travelling in foreign countries." To this proposition he gladly consented; and dresses of honour, horses, money, and every thing necessary, were immediately supplied him for the journey.

The emperor of China, it appears, had at this time sent presents of great value to the sultan, and requested from him permission to rebuild an idol temple in the country about the mountain of Korā, on the inaccessible heights of which there was said to be a plain of three months' journey in extent. "Here," says our author, "there resided many infidel Hindoo kings. The extremities of these parts extend to the mountains of Thibet, where the musk gazelles are found. There are also mines of gold on these mountains, and poisonous grass growing, such that when the rains fall upon it and run in torrents to the neighbouring rivers, no one dares to drink of the water during the time of their rising; should any one drink of it, he dies immediately. The idol temple was called *Bur Khana* (Buddh Khana): it stood at the foot of the mountain, and was destroyed by the Mahometans, who at the same time made themselves masters of the level country. But as the people of the mountains depended wholly for subsistence on the possession of the plain, they procured the Emperor of China to intercede in their favour with the king of India. Besides, the people of China were accustomed to make pilgrimages to this idol temple, which was situated in a place called Semhal." It is easy to understand that the idol temple, or Budkhana here referred to, was situated on the frontiers of Budtan, the pestiferous air of which country, arising from the rankness

and superabundance of its vegetation, might easily give birth to the story of poisonous rivers.

To this request the emperor of Dehli replied, that no church whatsoever could be permitted to exist in a country subject to Mahometans, unless where tribute was paid; on this condition only could the temple be rebuilt. Ibn Batuta was appointed ambassador to carry this harsh answer; at the same time presents also of great value were prepared and entrusted to two favourites of the emperor. A body of a thousand cavalry attended the embassage to conduct it to the place of shipping.

The expedition, while proceeding towards the coast, passed through a country which was in a very disturbed state; they met with and totally routed a party of the insurgents, but one of the officers who had charge of the presents lost his life in the conflict. A few days after, the alarm was given that the Hindoos were attacking a Mahometan village in the neighbourhood; and Ibn Batuta and his friends immediately rode off to defend the Moslems. The Hindoos were put to flight at the first onset; but afterwards perceiving our luckless ambassador left behind with only five companions, they returned to the charge, and succeeded completely in cutting off his retreat. He fled as fast as his horse could carry him; but finding himself at length in a valley closely interwoven with trees, and from which there was no escape, he alighted from his horse and gave himself up as a prisoner.

The robbers then stripped him of every thing he had, bound him, and carried him with them for two days, intending to kill him. Of their language he was quite ignorant. They at length let him go, and he directed his course he knew not whither. Fearing that they might change their purpose and return to take his life, he hid himself in a forest thickly interwoven with trees and thorns, and there remained some time in close concealment. Whenever he ventured upon the roads, they seemed to lead him either to the villages of the Hindoos or

to melancholy ruins: he was always, therefore, under the necessity of returning; and thus he passed seven whole days in a state of the greatest horror. His food was the fruit and leaves of the mountain trees. At length, on the seventh day, he caught sight of a black man, who had with him a small water-vessel, and a walking staff shod with iron. After mutual salutations, the black man enquired his name. He answered, Mohammed. To a similar interrogation, the black man replied, El Kalb El Karih (the wounded heart). He then gave our wretched traveller some pulse and some water to drink, and asked him to accompany him on his journey. Ibn Batuta made the effort, but found himself unable to move, and sunk on the earth. The black man then took him on his shoulders, and as he walked along his exhausted companion fell asleep. About dawn next morning Ibn Batuta awoke, and found himself at the emperor's palace gate.

A courier had already brought to Dehli an account of all that had happened. The emperor endeavoured to repair with kindness the misfortunes of his ambassador: he gave him twelve thousand dinars; appointed another officer to take charge of the presents in the room of him who had been killed, and shortly after the expedition again set forward. They passed by Kul, where so many accidents had previously taken place, to Kanoge, Merwa, and Gwalior, a fortress of India, remarkable in all ages, and of which our author gives an entertaining history; thence they came to the city of Barun.

In the neighbourhood of Barun (a small city inhabited by Moslems) were infidel districts, infested by wild beasts, which frequently entered the town and tore the inhabitants. It was reported, nevertheless, that such as entered the streets of the town were not really wild beasts, but some of those magicians called yogees, who have the power of assuming what shapes they please. Ibn Batuta repeats the story told by Ctesias seventeen centuries before, when he affirms that the

yogees are able to abstain totally from food for many months together. "Many of them," he says, "dig houses for themselves under ground, over which any one may build, leaving them only a place for the air to pass through. In this the yogee will reside for months without eating or drinking any thing. I have heard of one who remained thus for a whole year. They have also the power of foretelling events."

Among other miraculous qualities ascribed to these yogees by our author, is that of being able to kill a man with a look. This power, however, was more frequently possessed by women, who were in that case called goftars. The cruelties practised in India upon those wretches who had the misfortune to become the objects of superstitious apprehension, were precisely the same as the ordeals of European witches. While Batuta was judge of Dehli, a supposed goftar was brought before him, charged with having killed a child by her looks. The judge sent her to the vizier, who ordered her to be thrown into the river Jumna, with four large water-vessels tied to her. She floated nevertheless, and accordingly the vizier ordered her to be burnt. The people distributed her ashes among them, believing that whoever fumigated himself with them would be secure from the fascinations of a goftar for the following year. The Arabian travellers of the ninth century, Wahab and Abu Zaid, also remarked, in the the north of India, the ordeal by fire, practised precisely in the same manner as in Europe. The accused person carried a bar of heated iron a certain distance: his hand was then bound up, and the covering was sealed by the magistrate. If at the expiration of a few day the marks of the fire had disappeared, the accused was declared innocent; if not, his guilt was considered as established.

Our traveller's route was now directed towards the country of Malabar. The whole of the way by land lay under the shade of trees; and at the distance of every half mile was a house made of wood, with chambers fitted up for the reception of the wayfaring.

In the city of Menjarun, he found four thousand Mahometan merchants. In Pattan, on the contrary, inhabited by Brahmins, there was not a single Mahometan.

Having arrived at Calicut, a great port frequented by wealthy merchants from all parts, Batuta waited three months for the season to set sail for China. He gives an accurate description of the great Chinese ships called junks: — "The sails of these vessels are made of cane reeds, woven together like a mat; which, when they put into port, they leave standing in the wind. In some of these vessels there will be a thousand men, six hundred of them sailors, and the remainder soldiers. Each of the larger vessels is followed by three others of inferior sizes. These vessels are no where built except in the farthest ports of China. They are rowed with large oars, which may be compared to great masts, over some of which five and twenty men will be stationed, who work standing. The commander of each vessel is a great emir. In the large ships, too, they sow garden herbs and ginger, which they cultivate in cisterns ranged along the side. In these also are houses constructed of wood, in which the higher officers reside with their wives: every vessel is, therefore, like an independent city. Of such ships as these Chinese individuals will sometimes have large numbers, and, generally speaking, the Chinese are the richest people in the world."

The time of the voyage at length arrived. There were thirteen large junks in the port, and one of these was appointed for the reception of the embassage. The imperial presents were already embarked; and Batuta, who preferred the accommodation of one of the smaller vessels, had sent all his property on board, remaining himself on shore to attend prayers in the mosque. The fleet was to set sail on the morrow; but during the night a violent hurricane came on, the sea rose and destroyed most of the great vessels in the harbour, among others, the junk containing the treasure: the crew and imperial officers all perished, and the wealth was lost. The ship in which Batuta had embarked his effects had succeeded

in getting off to sea. Nothing remained to him now but his prostration carpet and ten dinars which were given him by some holy men.

After this misfortune our traveller was afraid to return to the court of Delhi; he sought, therefore, and obtained the protection of the king of Hinaur, w h whom he remained for a little time, and then proceeded to the Maldive islands. "These islands," he says, "are about two thousand in number, and constitute one of the wonders of the world." He describes the people as extremely neat, but weak and delicate in their persons. The principal islands were governed by a woman; a remark made also by the Arabian travellers of the ninth century. Their chief trade consisted in a sort of thread made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut: the nut is macerated in water, and afterwards beaten with a mallet till it grows quite soft; the fibre is then spun out and twisted into ropes. This thread is used to sew together the ships of Yemen and of India.

Ibn Batuta rose into great consideration in the island of Mohl, from the name of which he supposes the whole of the cluster to have been called the *Maldives.** He accepted the office of judge, married three wives, and rode on horseback; an honour which he alone was allowed to share with the vizier. But this great personage, who was also the queen's husband, at length grew jealous of his increasing influence; Batuta in consequence, who was, perhaps, tired also of remaining so long in one place, thought it prudent to retire from the island, and having divorced two of his wives he set sail for Maabar, a name which the Arabians give to the southern portion of the Carnatic and Coromandel coast: it must not, therefore, be confounded with Malabar, to which it bears so close a resemblance.

The wind shifted in the commencement of the voyage, rose to a dangerous degree of violence, and forced the

* But there is more likelihood in the conjecture of those who suppose the name of the Maldives as well as that of the Laccadives to signify *the thousand isles*; the word *Mal*, in the dialects, and *Lacca*, in the Sanscrit, both signifying a thousand. *Dib* or *Dipa* is an island.

vessel to Ceylon. The great mountain Serendib, our author affirms, was visible at a distance of nine days' sail: it looked like a pillar of smoke, the clouds rolling at its feet. When the ship entered the harbour, it was not without difficulty that the Mahometans were permitted to land; but as Ibn Batuta represented himself to be related to the king of Maabar, he was treated with respect. When admitted to the king's presence, he stated the object of his coming to the island to be, "to visit the blessed footstep of our forefather Adam." To this pilgrimage the king gave his permission; appointed jogees and Brahmins to accompany the Mahomedan, with servants to carry provisions. The mountain of Serendib, or Adam's Peak, might be ascended by two roads: the one, called by the natives "the way of *Baba*," or Adam; the other, "the way of *Mama*," or Eve. The latter was much the more practicable of the two; but the merit of the pilgrimage was enhanced by the roughness of the road: the way of Baba was accordingly preferred. The precipice immediately below the sacred summit is climbed by means of iron chains, fixed to pins driven in the rock. Of these chains there are ten in number, one above the other; the last of them is called the "chain of witness," because those who have arrived at it and look down are seized with a strong apprehension that they shall fall. At the tenth chain is the cave of Khizr, a spacious cavern in which pilgrims leave their provisions, and then ascend about two miles to the top of the mountain to the rock on which is the impression, called the "foot of Buddha" by the Hindoos, and "Adam's foot" by Mahometans. "The length of this impression," says Batuta, "is eleven spans. The Chinese came here at some former time and cut out from this stone the place of the great toe, together with the stone about it, and placed it in a temple in the city of Zaitun. Pilgrimages are made to it from the most distant parts of China. In the rock containing the impression have been cut nine small excavations, into which infidel pilgrims put gold, rubies, and other jewels: hence you will see the

faquirs, who have come as pilgrims to the cave of Khizr, racing to get first to these excavations, in order to secure whatever may be in them." In one particular the account which Ibn Batuta gives of "Adam's foot" differs essentially from that of Wahab in the ninth century, who had not made the pilgrimage himself, but received the description, perhaps, only from the natives. Wahab says, that the print of the foot is not nine spans, but seventy cubits in length; and he adds the curious circumstance, that while Adam placed one foot on the mountain he stood with the other in the sea.

In the woods round the foot of Adam's Peak he saw great multitudes of monkeys, of a dark colour, and with beards like men. Like the Greeks of antiquity, he appears to have been nearly forced into a belief that these animals are but a variety of the human species. The sheikh Othman and his son, two pious and credible persons, assured him that the monkeys have a chief, whom they treat as if he were a king: he wears on his head a turban composed of the leaves of trees: four monkeys, with rods in their hands, constantly wait upon him and supply his table with nuts, lemons, and other mountain fruit. Our traveller saw here a white elephant in the possession of the king.

From Ceylon the restless Mahometan set sail for the coast of Coromandel. In the middle of the voyage a violent tempest came on, and the vessel was nearly lost. From Coromandel he crossed through the interior to Malabar; and after a little time embarked at Coulan to return to Hinaur. New calamities beset him; the ship in which he sailed was captured by pirates: he was robbed of all that he possessed, and put ashore stripped nearly naked. In this plight he arrived at Calicut, where he took refuge in a mosque, till some of the merchants who had known him in Dehli learned his situation and came to his relief. Having again visited the Maldive islands, he proceeded to Bengal, which appeared to him the cheapest and most plentiful country he had ever seen. His chief object in coming hither was to visit a

great saint who dwelt in the mountains of Kamru, which adjoin the mountains of Thibet, and are frequented by the musk gazelles. The sheikh Jalal Oddin, the saint in question, treated our pilgrim with attention, and placed on him at parting the fine goats' hair garment which he wore himself.

Returning to the sea-side, Batuta found a junk preparing to set sail for Sumatra. Unable to resist the temptation of the voyage, he accordingly embarked, and after a voyage of fifty days, arrived at the country of Barahnakar (apparently one of the Nicobar islands), where the men have mouths like dogs. Their houses were made of reeds along the shore. In fifteen days he arrived at the island of Sumatra, the king of which at that time was a generous prince, and a great lover of the professors of Mahometan law. Ibn Batuta, in consequence, met with a kind reception at his court. He remained here but fifteen days; and the king fitted him out for his voyage to China with provisions, fruit, and money. After a voyage of four and thirty days, he came into what is called "the Calm Sea." This sea has a red colour, and is without either wind, wave, or motion. The Chinese junks, when they arrive in it, are obliged to be towed by the smaller vessels.

After navigating for seven and thirty days these tranquil waters, which resemble, in some measure, that portion of the Atlantic called "the Lady's Bay," our traveller arrived at a country named from its king Tawalisi, and of whose situation it is impossible to form any probable conjecture. The king, he says, was sufficiently powerful to oppose the emperor of China. The people were idolaters, handsome in appearance, and resembling Turks: they were of a copper colour, possessing great strength and bravery. The women rode on horseback, excelled in throwing the javelin, and fought like men in battle. One of the chief towns, Kailuka, the port at which the ship put in, was governed by the king's daughter. She sent for our traveller, welcomed him politely in Turkish, and calling for ink and paper,

wrote the bismillah in his presence. Leaving this country, Batuta arrived in seven days at the first of the Chinese provinces. He describes in terms of high admiration the industry, wealth, cultivation, and good order of China.

He also observes that the dealings of the Chinese are carried on with paper. They do not buy or sell, he says, either with the dirhem or the dinar; but should any one get these coins into his possession he would melt them down immediately. As to the paper, every piece of it is in extent about the measure of the palm of the hand, and is marked with the king's stamp. When these papers happen to be torn or worn out with use, they are carried to a house which is just like the mint with us, and new ones are given in place of them by the king. This is done without interest, the profit arising from their circulation accruing to the king.

The people of China were in his estimation the most skilful artificers on the face of the earth. In painting none came near them. In proof of this he relates a a pleasant anecdote: — "I one day entered into one of their cities for a moment; some time after I had occasion again to visit it, and what should I see upon its walls, and upon papers stuck up in its streets, but pictures of myself and my companions! This is constantly done with all who pass through their towns. And should a stranger do any thing to make a flight necessary, they would send out his picture to all the provinces, and he would be in consequence detected."

The first city he came to in China was El Zaitun.* The port appeared to him to be the finest in the world. He saw in it about a hundred of the largest sized junks; the small vessels were innumerable. The Mahometan merchants here were numerous and wealthy; and when

* The Arabians supposed that *Zaitun* was so named from the word which, in their language, signifies an *olive*, although they at the same time remarked with surprize that no olives grew there. This city, by many considered to be the same as Canton, is the *Thsiuan cheu fu* of the Chinese, and is situated above a hundred and twenty leagues to the north-west of that city, and a little to the north of Nankin. It was formerly called *Tseu thung*, of which the Arabians made Zaitun and Marco Polo Zaithoum. — *Klaproth, Journ. Asiat.* vol. v p. 41.

any stranger of their own persuasion happened to arrive, they treated him with .such such unsparing liberality, that they very soon made him as wealthy as themselves.

From Zaitun, Ibn Batuta made a voyage of twenty-seven days to Sin Kilan, one of the largest cities in China. Here also he found a mosque and Mahometan judge; and indeed he affirms, that in every great town of China there were Mahometan merchants, with a judge and sheikh El Islam to settle their disputes. He learned that beyond El Zaitun there was no town of any consequence. " Between it and the obstruction of Gog and Magog there is, as I was told, a distance of sixty days: the people who inhabit that place eat all the men they can overcome, and hence it is that no one goes to those parts." By this obstruction of Gog and Magog, it has been supposed that we are to understand the great wall; but as Batuta takes care to inform us that he had neither seen it himself, nor received an account of it from any one who had, it seems likely that he doubted the truth of this part of his information. In Fanjanfur he met an acquaintance of his youth, a native of Ceuta. This man had also held an office in the palace of Dehli, but coming to China he had amassed great wealth. Ibn Batuta remarks, that he met the brother of the same person a short time after in Soudan, and exclaims, " What a distance between these two brothers!" But in Ibn Batuta's days the Mahometan merchants appear to have frequently extended their negotiations from China to the Atlantic.

A river navigation of ten days brought our traveller next to El Khansa (perhaps Chensi), which he describes as the largest city on the face of the earth. As every house is surrounded by a garden, the length of the city extends a journey of three days. The city of El Khansa was divided into six cities, each of these being surrounded by a wall. In the first were the guards, twelve thousand in number. In the second city, which was the most beautiful, resided the Jews, Christians,

and Turks, who adored the sun: the Christians mentioned here were probably some Nestorians, who penetrated into China either through Persia or from the Christians of St. Thomas, in Malabar. The third division was chiefly occupied by the officers of government. The fourth appears to have been the quarter of the wealthy. The fifth and largest city was inhabited by the common Chinese people. Among the curious manufactures which Batuta saw in this place he mentions particularly the dishes composed of reeds, glued together and painted over with brilliant and permanent colours. The population of the sixth city was composed of sailors, fishermen, ship caulkers, and carpenters.

Some troubles at this time broke out among the members of the reigning family, which led to a civil war and the death of the khan. The deceased monarch was buried with great pomp, after the Tatar custom. A large excavation was dug in the earth, in which a beautiful couch was spread, and the khan with his arms and rich apparel were laid upon it. All the gold and silver vessels of his house, four female slaves, and six of his favourite Mamelukes, were buried with him. The earth was then heaped upon them to the height of a large hill, and on this hill four horses were impaled. In consequence of these disturbances, Batuta hastened to quit the country.

From El Zaitun he sailed to Sumatra, and thence to Calicut and Ormuz. He then made the tour of Persia and Syria, and at length made the pilgrimage of Mecca for the third time, in the year 749 (A D. 1348). He returned to Tangier the following year, and visited his native country. But his passion for travelling was not yet subdued. He set out soon after for Spain; and after wandering through the southern portion of that country, he returned to Morocco, on his way to Soudan, or the country of the Niger. After leaving Segelmessa, a journey of five and twenty days brought him to Thagari, " a village in which," he observes, " there is nothing good; for its houses and mosques are built with stones of

salt, and covered with the hides of camels." The people of Soudan purchased this salt, cut into regular masses, which with them passed for money.

Having crossed the Great Desert he came to Abu Latin, the first district of Soudan. The inhabitants were chiefly merchants. Their clothing was brought from Egypt. The women appeared to our traveller extremely beautiful. "No one here," he observes, "is named after his father but after his maternal uncle. The sister's son always succeeds to the property in preference to the son; a custom which I witnessed no where else, except among the infidel Hindoos of Malabar."

Proceeding from Abu Latin to Mali, he found the roads shaded by trees of so great a size that a caravan might shade itself under one of them: as he passed by one of those trees, he saw a weaver working at his loom, in the hollow of the trunk. Happening while at Mali to meet the king one day at a feast, he rose up and said, "I have travelled the world over, and have seen its kings; and now I have been four months in thy territories, but no present, or even provision, from thee has yet reached me; now what shall I say of thee, when interrogated on this subject hereafter?" In consequence of this remonstrance, the sultan appointed him a house with suitable provisions.

Travelling along the Niger, which he calls the Nile, Batuta saw on the banks of a great gulf or lake a great number of Hippopotami. He was here informed, that in some parts of Soudan the infidels eat men; but that they eat none but blacks, the flesh of white men being unwholesome, because not properly matured. After a few days he arrived at Timbuctoo, regarding which he relates no particulars. The town of Kakaw, farther on, was thought to be the most beautiful in Soudan. He came then to Bardama, and afterwards to Nakda, a handsome town built with stone of a red colour. Rich copper mines were in its immediate vicinity. From this place he returned to Fez, where he took up his residence in the year 754 (A.D. 1353), eight and twenty years

after he had first set out upon his travels. He had in the mean time discharged all the obligations which he had imposed upon himself in the course of his wanderings: he had visited the three brothers of the sheikh Borhan Oddin El Aaraj, who respectively resided in Persia, in India, and in China; and to the brother of the sheikh Kawam Oddin, whom he had met in the last named country, he brought tidings of his relative in the heart of Soudan.

BOOK III.

PROGRESS OF GEOGRAPHY IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAP. I.

DISCOVERIES OF THE NORTHMEN.

ANTIQUITY OF THE SCANDINAVIANS. — THE FINS. — NORTHERN CRUSADES. — TURKS, SARACENS, AND AMAZONS IN THE NORTH. — VOYAGE OF OTHER. — WHALE FISHERY. — WAISTEN DESCRIBES THE FUNERALS OF THE RUSSIANS. — THE NORTHMEN INVADE IRELAND. — OCCUPY THE WESTERN ISLES. — THE WHITEMAN'S LAND. — VOYAGE OF MADOC. — WELSH INDIANS. ICELAND DISCOVERED. — RELICS FOUND THERE. — GREENLAND DISCOVERED AND COLONISED. — JOURNEY OF HOLLAR GEIT. — OLD GREENLAND LOST. — VINLAND. — SKRÆLINGUES OR ESQUIMAUX. — MAP OF THE TWO ZENI. — FRIESLAND. — GROLANDIA. — THE WARM SPRINGS AND HOUSES BUILT OF LAVA. — CANOES OF THE ESQUIMAUX. — ESTOTILAND AND DROCIO. — THE NEW WORLD. — CANNIBALS. — THE PRECIOUS METALS.

THE nations of the North, however rude and barbarous they might appear in the eyes of the luxurious Romans, were yet raised far above the abject condition of an utter indifference to knowledge. The kindred races of the German and Sclavonian nations were very extensively diffused: their free polity and restless disposition maintained a perpetual intercourse between them; and even the nature of the country which they occupied seems to warrant the conclusion, that the geographical knowledge possessed by the northern nations was never circumscribed within such narrow limits as those which confined the views of the early inhabitants of Greece and Italy.

In all the accounts that remain to us of Scandinavia, from the age of Pytheas to that of Alfred, we

meet with none but Gothic names. Again, the Scandinavian mythology preserved in the Edda presents only those physical traits which properly belong to northern climates, and those usages which are found only among a warlike and a maritime people. Thus, a northern god invents the art of skating, and the mortal remains of a deified hero are consumed on a vessel launched out to sea. Even in Valhalla, the clashing of arms is heard amid the festivities, and mead takes the place of nectar at the table of Odin. All these circumstances, poetical, geographical, and mythological, combine to prove that from the remotest times Scandinavia, properly so called, has been in the occupation of a single people.

But to the east of these hereditary possessions of the Goths wandered the nomad tribes of Scythians and Sarmatians. Much information respecting these resulted from the Scandinavian expeditions of the tenth and twelfth centuries. Till the year 1157 Finland was the resort of savages, who lived by piracy, and who were known by the names of Fins and Kyrials. The Fins who in the first century, as it appears from the description of Tacitus, were established in the north of Poland, had fixed themselves before the sixteenth century in the country which at present bears their name. It appears, indeed, that colonies of that people penetrated even into some districts of Scandinavia. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the Gulf of Finland was called *Kyriala Botn:* it was a principal theatre of action to the Scandinavian pirates.

The Swedes, being converted to Christianity, turned their arms in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries against the inhabitants of Finland and the north of Russia. These zealous crusaders, by a blunder suited to the ignorance of the age, gave to the savages, who were the objects of their warfare, the name of Saracens. Conrad, duke of Masovia, in a letter written in 1239, summoned the German knights to war against his pagan neighbours, whom he calls *the Prussians and other Saracens.* This name occurs again, torn completely from the claims of

geography, in an old romance on the birth and adventures of the enchanter Merlin, in which even the Anglo-Saxons are called Saracens.* It appears to have been during this period that the city of Abo was founded in the middle of Finland: it was called in Finnish *Turku*, from the Swedish word *torg*, which signifies a market-place. The sound of this name misled Adam of Bremen into the belief that there were Turks in Finland.

The intrepid seamen of the North, harassed by their piracies the shores of Armorica, and defied the power of the Roman empire. The earliest account of the services rendered to geography by those hardy adventurers has been preserved to us by king Alfred, whose reign extended from 872 to 901. That great prince translated into the Anglo-Saxon tongue the geography of Orosius, a Spanish monk who flourished in the beginning of the fifth century; but Alfred, in order that the work might be more complete, added to the translation the narratives of two contemporary travellers in the north of Europe.

One of these was Other, a Norwegian nobleman, who sought a refuge at the court of Alfred from the civil wars and disturbances of his native country: he was esteemed in his own country a man of great wealth, and possessed six hundred tame deer, besides six decoy deer, and twenty head of cattle. He also received an annual tribute from the Fins, which was paid in valuable furs, feathers, whalebone, and ship cables made of the skins of seals. Thus it appears that the manners of the North were nearly the same a thousand years ago as they are at present.

Other dwelt in *Halgoland* (the most northern part of Norway), on the shores of the *Western Sea*. The country to the north of his habitation was waste and uninhabited, with the exception of a few spots to which the Fins resorted in the summer season to hunt or fish. Being desirous to know how far that uninhabited country extended towards the north, he sailed northwards along the coast, keeping the open sea always on the larboard or left hand of his course. Three days' sail brought him

* Percy, Relics of ancient Poetry, iii. p. 27.

as far to the north as the whale-fishers were used to go: he continued his voyage, however, for three days longer, and then found that the coast, instead of running to the north as hitherto, turned towards the east. Following this coast for four days, he found it again bending to the south; and sailing due south for five days, he came to the country of the *Beormians* or Permians, who appeared to him to speak the same language as the Fins. Thus it appears that Other sailed round the north of Europe into the White Sea, on the eastern side of which was the country of the Permians, at present possessed by the Samoyeds. Curiosity was not the only motive of his voyage: he had also in view the pursuit of the walrus or *horse-whale*, as king Alfred correctly translates it, which were extremely valuable not only on account of their tusks, which made fine ivory, but also for their strong and pliant skins. In the White Sea he found these animals so numerous, that his party succeeded in killing threescore in three days.

Other was also acquainted with the navigation of the Baltic. He mentions *Schon-eg* or Scania, and *Becinga-eg* or Blekingia, with the countries of the *Angles*, *Saxons*, and *Vends*. *Cwenland*, or the country of the Cwens, was situated between the White Sea and the Gulf of Bothnia. The resemblance of that national designation to the Scandinavian word *quean*, which signifies a woman, led many writers of the middle ages to believe that there was a country of Amazons in the North. Thus ignorance and the resemblance of names peopled the North with Amazons, with Saracens, and Turks.

Wulfsten, the other Norman whose travels are related by king Alfred, visited more particularly the eastern shores of the Baltic. To the east of *Weonodland*, or the country of the Vends, and *Witland* or Prussia, was the river *Wisla* or Vistula, and all beyond that was called by the general name of *Estum* or *Estland*. Icelandic sagas mention, besides, *Poulina-land* or Poland, and *Gardarike*,* or the empire of the city, the proud title once borne by Novogorod. The Don is named by the oldest Icelandic

writers *Vanaquist*, which probably signifies the *river* of the *Steppes* or *Desert*.

In *Estland*, or modern Russia, there were, according to Wulfsten, a great number of towns, in each of which there was a king. The country abounded in honey, and had plenty of fish. The kings and nobility drank mares' milk, while the slaves and poor people used only mead; for they brewed no ale, but had mead in profusion. Among the singular customs of the Estlanders, observed by the Norman, was that of distributing the effects of those who died, not to the relations of the deceased, but among the best riders at his funeral. After the body was placed upon the pile, all the property of the deceased was divided into heaps, five, six, or more in number, according to its value: these heaps were placed at equal intervals from each other, and regularly increased in size, so that the largest and most valuable was at the greatest distance from the town. Then all who had fleet horses were invited to attend and strive for the prizes. The heaps were won by the swiftest in the race.

Ireland was discovered by the Northmen so early as the seventh century: such at least is the account given by the northern historians; but it is hard to avoid suspecting in this, as in other similar cases, that many distant voyages were undertaken, and geographical discoveries made, long before those of which the memory is preserved. It is certain, however, that in the seventh century, the northern pirates made frequent descents on the coast of Ireland for the sake of pillage: they even established their authority in the island, and exacted tribute.

At a later period (A.D. 964), the Northmen took possession of the isles of Shetland, *Jetland* or *Hialtland*, which constituted for some time a part of the earldom of the Orkneys. These pirates obtained a perfect acquaintance with this Archipelago: they hunted down and exterminated the original inhabitants, called *Peti* or *Papæ*, who were probably the *Picti* of the ancients. They added to this insular dominion a considerable por-

tion of the north of Scotland; and their monuments are still among the most conspicuous in the highlands of that kingdom.

The Northmen made the conquest of the Hebrides, in the year 893, and gave them the name of the *Suder-Eyer* or Southern Isles, in relation to the Orkneys. The *Suder-Eyer* were united with the Isle of Man in the same kingdom, and under the same ecclesiastical authority; hence the bishopric of *Sodor* has been since always nominally united with that of Man. All these conquests made among the British islands remained dependent on the kingdom of Norway till the latter half of the thirteenth century.

But the old Icelandic chronicles relate, moreover, that the Northmen discovered in the ninth century, to the west of Ireland, a great country, to which they gave the name of *Great Ireland*, or the *Whiteman's Land*. This alleged discovery is generally ranged by critics among fabulous traditions. But these surprising accounts of the early Scandinavian voyages have, after all, so little poetic decoration in their circumstances, they are so perfectly free in their general design from any admixture of the monstrous or absurd, that it is much more easy to believe the reality of the achievement than the invention of the story. It is not the character or the taste of a rude age to compose fictions with the air of truth. In the *Landnama Bok*, one of the oldest of the Icelandic histories, occurs the following sober reference to this great discovery in the West: —

"Ari was the son of Mar of Reikholar, and of Thorkatla, daughter of Hergils Hrappson. He was cast on the shore of the *Whiteman's Land*, which others call the *Great Ireland*. It is situated in the Western Ocean, near the good Vinland. Here Ari, not being permitted to return, was detained and baptized. This was related by Rafn, the Limerick merchant, who had resided many years in Limerick; and besides this, Thorkil Geetson said he had heard several Icelanders relate the same, who had been present when Thorfin, earl of Orkneys, assert-

ed, that Ari had been seen in the *Whiteman's Land*; and although he did not get leave to return, was very much esteemed." Thus it appears that the Northmen carried on a trade with the west of Ireland, which will appear less surprising when it is considered that they were in possession of all the islands on that coast.

Of the same doubtful character, but of a later age, is the voyage of the Welsh prince Madoc, the son of Owen Gwynedd, who is stated in the Triads to have gone to sea, in ten ships, with three hundred men, to avoid the dissensions of his brothers respecting the succession to the throne. This expedition was planned by Madoc and his brother Rhiryd, in consequence of a prior one in 1170, wherein he discovered land in the ocean a great way to the west. No tidings were ever afterwards received of him; and this expedition was in consequence united in Welsh story with the voyages of Gaoran and Merddin, under the title of the *Three Disappearances*. The Merddin named here belonged to the fifth century. He went to sea in a house of glass, as tradition states it, accompanied by nine Welsh bards. It can hardly be credited that Madoc should have sailed, in the twelfth century, across the widest part of the Atlantic (for he left Ireland to the north). Yet Mr. Owen, the biographer of Wales, affirms, "that he has collected a multitude of evidences, to prove that Madoc must have actually reached the American continent, for the descendants of that prince and his followers exist there as a nation to this day; and their present dwelling is on the southern branches of the Missouri river, where they are known under the appellations of Padoucas, white Indians, civilised Indians, and *Welsh Indians!*" This last name, it may be presumed, they have received from the Cambrian antiquarians.

About the year 861, accident conducted some Scandinavian pirates to the Feroe islands; and immediately afterwards some adventurers of the same nation, while endeavouring to make their way to this newly discovered country, were thrown by a tempest on the eastern coast

of Iceland, or as it was at first called, *Snia-land.* In 864 one Gardar circumnavigated the island, to which, in order to commemorate his labour, he gave the name of *Gardarsholm.* He stated with perfect correctness, that it had a circumference of about 670 nautical miles. A few years later Floke, a Norwegian, ventured to winter on the northern coast, where he remained two years. This experiment led to the colonisation of Iceland, to which the political troubles of Norway at that time furnished additional motives; and Ingolph, one of the discontented party at home, set sail with a numerous retinue in 874, and settled in one of the green valleys on the south-western coast of that island.

The first settlers in Iceland found extensive districts of that dreary country covered with forests of birch and fir. They were also able, notwithstanding the severity of the climate, to cultivate some barley and other grain. At present the whole island is a naked desert, the native woods having totally disappeared; and the Icelanders have long since relinquished, for good reasons it may be presumed, the practice of growing corn: but it is not manifest whether these changes are to be ascribed to an alteration in the climate, or whether they ought not rather to be considered as the natural consequences of the multiplication of cattle.

One of the most remarkable circumstances attending the discovery of Iceland, is, that relics were found there, which showed that it had been previously inhabited. The nature of these relics, which consisted of bells, wooden crosses, and books in the Irish character, induced the Norwegians to believe, that those prior visitants were Christians, either from Scotland or from Ireland. Many authors have endeavoured to throw discredit on this account, influenced, perhaps, by the ordinary unwillingness of men to admit facts which they are unable to explain. There is not any inherent improbability in the opinion, that the Scandinavians, and the inhabitants of the British islands, navigated the northern seas for ages before their proceedings were known to history. But the most an-

cient of the Icelandic chronicles are not contented with mentioning the vestiges of former inhabitants, they distinctly state that there were actual settlements on the island previous to the Norwegian emigration. They name Kirkiubui, one of the warm and fertile valleys that occur on the southern coast, as the residence of those *papæ*, as they call the strangers, who deserted the island, it is added, from their aversion to the pagan colonists.*

The colonisation of Iceland, by the bold and adventurous Northmen, was soon followed by further discoveries in the West. One Eric Randa, or *red head*, the son of Thorwald, a Norwegian noble, quarrelled with, and killed his neighbour Eyolf. For this and other offences he was condemned to a banishment of three years. He knew that a man, named Gunbiorn, had previously discovered some banks to the west of Iceland, from him called *Gunbiorn's schieran*, or Gunbiorn's banks, and likewise a country of great extent still farther to the west: he determined to employ the time of his exile in making a voyage of discovery to that country. Setting sail, therefore, from Iceland, he soon fell in with a point of land, which he called Hirjalfs-ness, and continuing his voyage to the south-west, he entered a deep inlet, to which he gave the name of *Erics-sund*, and passed the winter on a pleasant island in the neighbourhood. In the following year he explored the continent, and returning to Iceland in the third year, he represented his new discovery in the most favourable light, enlarging in his praises of its fine woods, rich meadows, and abundant fisheries; and the better to confirm the impression made by these embellished accounts, he gave to the newly discovered country the alluring name of Greenland. By these arts he contrived to draw together a considerable company, who embarked under his guidance, carrying with them household furniture, implements of all kinds, cattle for breeding, and whatever else is necessary for the establishment of a colony. But

* Landnama Bok, lib IV. c. 11. Hafn. 1774.

of twenty-five ships which set sail, not more than fourteen arrived in safety. These first adventurers were soon followed by many more from Iceland and Norway.

Greenland, according to most of the Icelandic histories, was discovered in 982, and peopled four years later. Some, however, carry back the discovery to 932. Nay, there exists letters patent of Lewis the Debonnaire in 834, and a bull of Gregory IV. in 835, which confer on the church of Hamburgh, among other privileges, that of converting the heathen in Iceland and in Greenland.* Are we to suppose, then, that the enterprising mariners of Hamburgh had already, in the beginning of the ninth century, scoured the northern ocean, but that their discoveries, which held out but little temptation to the merchant, soon fell into oblivion? Or, is it not likely that they still frequented the fisheries of those seas, but that the Icelanders, who cultivated literature in peace, and preserved the history of their settlements, appear from this circumstance alone as the principal discoverers in the North? Many, it is true, consider the patents of the church of Hamburgh to be either forged or interpolated; but when criticism assumes so arbitrary a character, it cannot escape the suspicion of injustice.

The new settlers in Greenland had their bishops from Europe, and continued their intercourse with the parent state of Norway till the year 1418. The colony paid to the pope an annual tribute of 2600 pounds' weight of walrus teeth, as tithe and Peter's pence. There were two towns, *Garda* and *Hrattalid*, yet the whole community did not equal the number of the smallest parish in Norway. The voyage to Greenland and back again sometimes occupied no less than five years. In the year 1383, a ship arrived in Norway, bringing the first intelligence of the death of the bishop of Greenland, which had taken place six years before. Thus it appears, that however intrepid the northern seamen may have been, they were still but very imperfectly skilled in

* Lambec Orig. Hamb. p. 36.

the arts of navigation. Greenland in the tenth century wore the same dreary appearance as at the present day. It seemed like a disordered accumulation of naked rocks and immense glaciers. Enormous icebergs, such as the Northmen had never seen in their original habitations, floated along the coast, and filled every inlet. The stern aspect of nature in this inhospitable land, added to its extreme remoteness and the dangers of the boisterous seas through which it was reached, soon converted it, in the popular belief, into a land of wonders. The sea around was said to be inhabited by marine giants of both sexes; and the mountainous icebergs, as they moved along, were thought to be guided by invisible hands. It was said, too, that one Hollur Geit walked from Norway to Greenland on the ice, conducted by a goat.

The dreadful pestilence called the *black death*, which, in the middle of the fourteenth century, depopulated all Europe, and the North in particular, extended its ravages even as far as Greenland. The colony was, from this and other causes, much enfeebled, when in 1418 a hostile fleet arrived, no one could tell from what country it came, and destroyed every thing with fire and sword. Soon after this event, the colony of Greenland disappeared totally from history. Some fruitless attempts were made in the sixteenth century to reach the ancient settlement; but the great barriers of ice that had formed along the coast rendered it impossible to attain the desired object; nor was it till the year 1721 that the Danish colony at present existing in Greenland was established. The ruins of the old colony are still to be seen near the southern point of the peninsula.*

When the Northmen had crossed the tempestuous seas between Norway and Iceland, and from Iceland to Greenland, it might easily be conjectured that they would prosecute their discoveries still further to the westward In the year 1001, an Icelander named

* Giesecke, Trans. of the Roy. Irish Acad. vol. xiv.

Biorn, sailing to Greenland to visit his father, was driven by a tempest far away to the south-west: he there saw a level country covered with wood; the wind abating, he steered north-west, and reached his destination. His account inflamed the ambition of Leif, the son of that Eric Rauda who had founded the colony of Greenland. A vessel was soon equipped: Leif and Biorn set sail together, and arrived at the country which the latter had descried. The first land they reached was a rocky island, to which they gave the name of *Helleland*; a low country, thickly wooded, was called *Markland*. A few days afterwards they found a river, on the banks of which were trees loaded with agreeable fruits. The temperature appeared delicious, the soil seemed fertile, and the river yielded abundance of fine salmon. Having reached the lake from which the river issued, our Greenlanders resolved to winter in the country. They found that on the shortest day the sun remained eight hours above the horizon; from which observation it results that they were not far from the forty-ninth degree of latitude.

A German, who made one of the party, found some wild grapes, and having explained to his companions the use to which that fruit was generally converted, it was agreed among them to give the newly-discovered country the name of *Vinland*, or the *land of wine*. The relations of Lief made several voyages to Vinland. The third summer after the Normans landed there, they saw arrive, in canoes covered with leather, a number of natives of diminutive stature, to whom they gave the name of *Skrælingues*, or dwarfs. They massacred those comparatively feeble creatures without mercy, and were in consequence furiously attacked by the whole tribe. Some years afterwards, the Scandinavian colony carried on an advantageous fur trade with the savages, who appear from these accounts to have been Esquimaux. The valuable fur trade which rewarded their enterprise induced numbers to follow their example; but we are very imperfectly informed with respect to the circumstances

of the Scandinavian colonies established in Vinland; we only know that Eric, bishop of Greenland, made a voyage to that country in 1121, in order to convert to Christianity his countrymen settled there, and who still continued pagans.

It is impossible to shake the authenticity of these plain and circumstantial accounts; and it is likewise difficult, if not impossible, to acknowledge their genuine character, without admitting at the same time that Vinland was in Newfoundland, or else on the continent of North America, which was consequently discovered by Europeans, nearly five centuries before Christopher Columbus; in whose age, perhaps, some traditions were still preserved amongst seamen of those early discoveries in the North.

In the year 1380, two noble Venetians, name Zeni, entered into the service of a prince of the Feroe islands, and visited anew all the countries discovered by the Scandinavians, or at least they collected a circumstantial description of them, which confirms, in every material point, the Icelandic accounts, and which could hardly have been unknown to Columbus.

In the map drawn by the Zeni to illustrate the account of their navigations, Iceland is represented with the two towns of *Scalodin* and *Olensis*, or Sealholt and Hola, which were, in fact, the two bishopricks. To the south of Iceland, and to the north-east of Scotland, is a great island, surrounded by many small ones: the whole group bears the name of *Friesland*, and is evidently intended for the *Ferey's land*, or Feroe islands. This natural interpretation, however, of the Italian voyagers, did not occur to our early navigators, who long sought in vain for the Friesland of the Zeni. Frobisher thought he had found it, when he first descried the southern point of Greenland, to which he accordingly gave the name of Friesland.

To the north of Iceland the Zeni place a great peninsula, in shape resembling Greenland, but joined on the east with Norway; the junction, however, is marked as

merely conjectural. It is the same stated in the account of the navigation that Nicolo Zeno, going from Iceland, found a c untry, in the map called *Engroniland,* but in the text *Engronelandt,* and *Grolandia;* but the names of the places given in this country have no correspondence with those which occur in the Scandinavian topography of Greenland; so that there is good reason to doubt the accuracy of the Zeni.

But in this country, which he calls *Grolandia,* Nicolo Zeno found a monastery of friar preachers, and a church dedicated to St. Thomas, not far from a mountain which threw out flames like Ætna and Vesuvius. In the same place there was a spring of boiling water with which the monks warmed the church, the monastery, and their own apartments. They irrigated their gardens from these hot sources, and thus contrived to preserve a perpetual verdure, while all the country round was frozen to a great depth. Their monastery was built with lava, and roofed with a vault constructed of the light scoria, cemented with pozzuolana, or decayed basalt.

During the summer-time, as the Zeni relate, a great number of vessels arrived at Grolandia from Norway and the islands to trade with the friars, who, in exchange for their furs and fish, received corn, woollen cloth, wood for fuel, and utensils of every description. With some of these articles the friars maintained a trade with the people of the country. Monks from Sweden, Norway, and principally from Iceland, resorted to this monastery; and during the winter season there was always a number of vessels in the harbour shut up by the ice, and waiting for the return of spring.

The boats used by the fishermen of Grolandia had the shape of a weaver's shuttle, and were made of the bones of marine animals, covered with the skins of fish, sewed one over the other. These boats were so strong and so water-tight, that the fishermen ventured fearlessly to launch with them into the roughest seas; satisfied that even if they were thrown upon a rock they would sustain no injury.

In all these particulars there is evidently a good deal of truth, incorrectly and fantastically combined. The volcanoes and boiling springs of Iceland, the fertile valley of Reikiavik watered from tepid fountains, the well-endowed clergy of that island, are all transferred to a country in the West, where they are joined with the whale-skin canoes of the Esquimaux. The situation which the Zeni assign to Grolandia in their map does not correspond with the actual position of the colony in Greenland, which was on the southern and not on the eastern coast of that country. We must, therefore, suppose, either that the map of the Zeni was ill constructed, or that their narrative is but a confused medley of hearsay accounts; or, finally, which is most probable, that the descendant of Nicolo Zeno, who published the manuscript at Venice in 1558, attempted to embellish the original, and thus destroyed its circumstantial simplicity.

But the most remarkable part of the map of the Zeni still remains to be examined. More than *a thousand miles* to the west of Friesland, or the Feroe islands, and to the south of Greenland, the Venetian voyagers place two lines of coast, the one named *Estotiland*, the other *Drocco*. These countries are said to have been discovered in the following manner. A fishing vessel from the Feroe islands, driven by a tempest far to the west, at length ran aground on the island called Estotiland. The inhabitants conducted the shipwrecked fishermen into a town well built and peopled, in which the chief or king resided. An interpreter who spoke Latin, and who, it appears, had also been shipwrecked on the island, was the first to communicate with them: they soon, however, learnt the language of the country. The country appeared to them of less extent than Iceland, but infinitely more fertile: in the centre was a high mountain, from which four rivers descended. The inhabitants wrote in a character which the Northmen did not understand. Some Latin books were in the library of the king.

The people of Estotiland carried on some trade with Grolandia, whence they procured pitch, furs, and sulphur. They sowed corn, made beer, dwelt in houses built of stone, and were good seamen, although still unacquainted with the use of the compass. The Frieslanders being provided with this instrument, were intrusted by the king with the conduct of an expedition directed towards a country situated farther to the south, and called *Droceo.* They had the misfortune, however, to fall into the hands of a nation of cannibals. The Frieslanders were all eaten save one, whose life was spared on account of his dexterity in the art of fishing: the savages contended for the possession of so valuable a slave. Being handed over continually from one master to another, he had an opportunity of seeing the whole country. He affirmed that it was of unbounded extent, and, in fact, *a new world.* The savage natives wore no covering. They were engaged in continual contests among themselves, the conqueror always feasting on his vanquished foe. Farther to the south-west were a people much more civilised, who were acquainted with the use of the precious metals, built large cities and temples, but nevertheless offered up human victims to their idols.

Such was the account given by the fisherman of the Feroe islands, when after a lapse of many years he returned to his country. An attempt was immediately made by the prince, who reigned there at the time to reach these countries of Drogeo and Estotiland, but storms drove his fleet into the seas of Greenland. Whether he repeated his efforts, and with what success, are alike unknown to us, the history of those voyages remaining incomplete.

The narrative of the Zeni has been regarded by many as a mere fabrication; and the occurrence in it of such names as Dædalus and Icarus, which are evidently fabulous, seems to countenance that opinion. Yet the proportion of the miraculous and of palpable fable which is mingled with their relation does not exceed, perhaps, that which is found in the most authentic narratives of

the middle ages. If the accounts of Estotiland and Droceo be merely fictions, they are fictions of a very plain and unattractive character: but, in reality, fictions of this kind are extremely rare; for there are few persons who are capable of doing more than adding the adornments of fancy to a ground-work furnished by experience. But there is reason to believe that the Scandinavians never remitted their navigations in the northern seas; and if the inhabitants of the Feroe islands had written histories like those of Iceland, we might from them also have received authentic accounts of lands discovered in the West, and lost again in the course of ages.

The name *Estotiland* appears to be Scandinavian, and to mean the *East Out-land*, as Newfoundland might be justly called with respect to the American continent. Those who are willing to believe the Zeni, may suppose the inhabitants of Estotiland to have been descended from the Scandinavian settlers in Vinland; nor will their total disappearance at a later period seem surprising to those who reflect on the fate of the ancient colony of Greenland. The country called Droceo, according to the same course of reasoning, will be the coast of Nova Scotia, or of New England, and the more civilised people to the south, who possessed the precious metals, and offered up human sacrifices in magnificent temples, can be no other than the inhabitants of Florida, or, perhaps, the Mexicans, with whose wealth and power the hunter savages of the North were probably well acquainted.

However this may be, it is certain that the Zeni, in the fourteenth century, recalled to notice the well-authenticated discoveries made by the Scandinavians in the tenth; and added a relation which, whether true or false, contained the positive assertion of a continent existing to the west of the Atlantic Ocean. This relation was unquestionably known to Columbus, who may thus have derived not a little encouragement and instruction from the hardy navigations of the Northmen.

CHAP. II.

MAPS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

GENERAL IGNORANCE. — MISSIONARIES. — PILGRIMS. — ADAM OF BREMEN. — GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS. — LOVE OF THE MARVELLOUS. — ICELANDIC SAGAS. — SURVEYS. — OLD MAPS OF THE BRITISH ISLANDS. — EFFECTS OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM. — DOOMSDAY BOOK. — MAPS OF THE MIDDLE AGES. — TABLES OF CHARLEMAGNE. — MAP PRESERVED IN TURIN. — THE GEOGRAPHER OF RAVENNA. — SANUDO'S MAP. — GENOESE NAVIGATORS. — ISLE OF INFIERNO. — THE MADEIRA ISLANDS AND THE AZORES. — BIANCO'S MAP. — ISLANDS OF STOKAFIXA, ANTILLA, AND MAN. — SATANAXIO. — THE SEVEN CITIES. — BENJAMIN OF TUDELA. — CARAVAN ROUTES THROUGH ARMENIA AND BOKHARA.

THE discoveries of the Arabians and Scandinavians in those parts of the earth which were unknown to the ancients remained long concealed from the learned of Europe. Nevertheless the geographical ignorance of the middle ages was not so great as might be concluded from the well-known anecdote of the abbot of Clugny in Burgundy: to him the neighbourhood of Paris seemed a country so remote, and so little known, that he refused to comply with the request of the count de Bouchard, who wished to establish a monastery of his order at St. Maur, near that city.* In like manner some monks of Tournai, about the close of the twelfth century, sought in vain to discover the abbey of Ferrières. Thus it appears that the knowledge of the monks sometimes did not extend far beyond the walls of their monasteries.

Yet the monks were almost the only historians of the middle ages; and geography, on the whole, is not a little indebted to their labours. The darkest times and the most barbarous nations of Europe had their treatises of geography, or their chronicles, in which were inserted the

* It is surprising that Wieland, in his celebrated poem of Oberon (Ges ix 46), should place Montmartre on the road to Marseilles, or to the *south* of Paris. Under all the circumstances of their respective ages, the fault of Wieland is perhaps quite as inexcusable as that of the abbot of Clugny.

descriptions of some countries whether neighbouring or remote. The chronicle of Emon, abbot of Werum, in Groningen, contains on the subject of a crusade (A. D. 1217) a detailed account of the whole march, with a description of all the countries between Palestine and Holland.

But still greater benefits resulted from the labours of the missionaries, who carried the faith to pagan nations, and travelled through countries but little known. Saint Boniface preached to the Sclavonians, and obeyed the injunctions of the pope in giving a written description of those barbarous nations. It was probably from his accounts that king Alfred derived his knowledge of that part of Europe. Saint Otho, bishop of Bamberg, preached to the pagans on the coasts of Stettin, Belgard, and Colberg, and tried even to instruct them in the cultivation of the vine: those savages used at that time to drive away strangers from their shores, just as the inhabitants of New Zealand would do at the present day.

Before he made this journey, Otho, the bishop of Bamberg, had never heard of the Baltic Sea! He was surprised beyond measure at finding it so broad, that from the middle of it the opposite shores seemed just like clouds in the horizon. In the reign of Louis the Debonnaire a monk of Corvay, named Anscaire, filled with the same pious resolution, ventured even into the country of the formidable Northmen, and travelled over the kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark, at that time but little known. The journal of this monk, which during the middle ages was the chief source of information respecting the northern nations, is not at present known to exist.

The pilgrimages also of the Christians began already in the seventh century to awaken a spirit of observation. Adaman, abbot of Iona, wrote a description of Jerusalem and the Holy Land from the oral narrative of Saint Arculf. Willibald, the first bishop of Eichstadt, has left us a detailed account of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 730: his route lay through Italy and the island of Cy-

prus. These pilgrims, who frequently had commercial speculations in view as well as the atonement of their sins, generally brought back with them from Palestine some account of India and the other countries of the infidels. Adam of Bremen, who lived two centuries later than Anscaire, drew from his work, and followed his example in giving a detailed description of the kingdoms of the North. He treats of Jutland with great minuteness, and names many islands in the Baltic which had escaped the notice of his predecessors. He is also the first to describe the interior of Sweden as well as Russia, of which nothing was as yet known beside the name.

When Adam of Bremen speaks of the British islands, which he had never visited, he adopts, without hesitation, all the fables of antiquity. But the propensity to relate the marvellous, which characterises the writers of the middle ages, ought not, perhaps, to be ascribed so much to the credulity of the writer as to the want of a cultivated taste. As the marvellous generally gives pleasure, it easily comes to be looked upon as a rhetorical ornament in a rude age; and this vein was often indulged in by authors who possessed the soundest and most piercing understandings. Giraldus Cambrensis was one of those whose writings furnish an illustration of the above remark. In his accounts of Ireland and Wales, there are abundant proofs of an independent spirit not prone to credulity, yet he has carefully collected in his pages every wonder that could amuse his readers. That his work was composed in a style well suited to the taste of the age, is evident from the enthusiasm with which it was received. Three days running he was obliged to read in public, at Oxford, his description of Ireland. The first day he read to the poor; the second, to the doctors, clerks, and students; and the third day, to the citizens.

Indeed, during the middle ages the term *geography* almost wholly gave way to what was deemed an equivalent expression, *the wonders of the world.* Nearly all the early narratives of travels and geographical relations hold

out, in their titles, the promise of something marvellous. Among the regulations made by William of Wickham, for the regulation of the College which he had just founded at Oxford, is the following provision: — "When, in the winter, on the occasion of any holyday, a fire is lighted for the fellows in the great hall, the fellows and the scholars may, after their dinner or their supper, amuse themselves in a suitable manner, in the great hall, with singing or reciting poetry, or with the chronicles of different kingdoms, and the *wonders of the world*, and every thing that befits the character of the clergy."

But the Scandinavians and the Arabians are, perhaps, the only people among whom the reading or recital of histories ever became the ordinary amusement. The Icelandic *sagas* were, in the middle ages, familiar to the memories of the Northmen. They were recited at every festival, and read aloud in private: they beguiled the tedious length of northern evenings. The most ancient of these historic tales are supposed to have been written in the eleventh century; but a candid and discerning criticism can trace in them traditions, apparently veracious, as far back as the third century before the Christian era. The custom of repeating the sagas is still retained in Iceland. In the remoter vallies of that island, and wherever the manners of the people have not been contaminated by an association with the Danes, the evening amusements of the assembled family are the reading of their histories or the recital of their poems. In the preceding chapter it has been seen what valuable materials the Icelandic sagas can furnish to the history of geographical discoveries.

Some princes of the middle ages knew the value of a science which enables sovereigns to estimate the strength of their dominions. Had the Scandinavian princes been acquainted with the mariner's compass they would soon have made the circuit of the earth. In 1231, Waldemar II. King of Denmark, had a general survey made of his dominions, and a topographical table framed ac-

cordingly: a wonderful work for the thirteenth century.

The kings of England were animated with the same spirit, and have left behind still more striking proofs of their attention to statistics. Notwithstanding the general destruction of the ancient monastic collections in the reign of Henry VIII. there still remain several maps of the British islands made in the course of the twelfth century, and which serve, in no small degree, to illustrate the old historians. In some of these maps, which are very rude in design as well as execution, Scotland is represented as an island, separated from England by an arm of the sea. Ireland is also divided in two by the river Boyne, which is represented as a canal connecting the Irish channel with the Atlantic.* The towns are drawn in them of a disproportionate size; and the abbeys, with their walls, gates, and belfrys, occupy so great a space, as to leave little room for the rivers, boundary lines, or places of less seeming importance.

In the East, where the revenues of the provinces are generally farmed out, or bestowed on the favourites at court, and where the coffers of the prince are usually replenished by confiscations and other acts of despotism, the head of the empire has no immediate interest in the condition of the countries which acknowledge his authority. The feudal system, on the other hand, as it was developed in Europe in the middle ages, created such a multiplicity of rights, and departed so widely from the simple mechanism of despotic governments, that the monarch, in order to enjoy all the fiscal prerogatives of his crown, was obliged to be well acquainted with the local particulars of his dominions.

The tendency of the feudal system to bring about the collection of statistical details, was manifested in England on the first introduction of the Norman law. William the Conqueror caused surveys to be made of the several counties, in which were marked the waste and the cultivated lands; the villages, with the numbers of their

* Gough's Brit Top. i.

inhabitants, and the amount of the taxes which they paid. This is the work known by the name of Doomsday-book, begun in 1080, and finished in 1086, and containing a circumstantial description of all England, with the exception of the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham. The lands in tillage, the waste and inhabited districts, the population both free and in villanage, with the nature of the services in which these last were bound ; every circumstance, in short, even the number of the cattle, and the bee-hives in each county, is detailed in Doomsday-book with scrupulous exactness.

A survey of a kingdom, executed in detail during the eleventh century, is evidently an event of great importance in the history of geography. It set an example of accuracy, suggested many observations, and created an interest in territorial details, which could not fail to exert an influence beyond the limits in which they first had birth. There exists a similar geographical record with respect to a part of Germany: this is a description, in Latin, of the March of Brandenburg, made on the plan of Doomsday-book, and executed in 1377, by order of the emperor Charles IV.

Maps do not appear to have been very uncommon even in the darkest ages: however erroneous they may have been in their construction, they are often referred to by the monkish writers. Saint Gal, the founder of the celebrated abbey which bears his name (a name which has been subsequently transmitted to a Swiss canton), and who lived in the seventh century, possessed a map which is said, by the historian of that abbey, to have been of "curious workmanship." Charlemagne had three tables of silver, on which were severally represented the earth, the cities of Rome and Constantinople. His grandson Lothaire, in the war which he waged with the other Carlovingian princes, broke the first of these tables in pieces, and distributed the fragments among his soldiers.

But the most curious geographical monument of the

middle ages is a map preserved in the library of Turin, attached to a manuscript commentary on the Apocalypse, which was written in the year 787. It represents the earth as a plane bounded by a circular line, and divided into three unequal parts. To the south, Africa is separated by the ocean from a land called the *fourth division of the world*, where the antipodes dwell, and which the excessive heat of the torrid zone has hitherto prevented from being visited. At the four sides of the world are represented the figures of the four *winds*, each astride upon a pair of bellows, which he labours, and at the same time has a conch shell applied to his mouth, from which he blows hurricanes, as may be conjectured from his distended cheeks. At the top of the map (which is the East) are Adam and Eve, the serpent, and the tree of forbidden fruit. At their right hand is Asia, with two high mountains, and the words *Mount Caucasus* and *Armenia*. From these mountains descends the river Eusis, (Phasis?) and falls into a sea which unites with the ocean, and separates Europe from Asia. Thus the author returned, in this part of his map, to the geography of the primitive Greeks. In the middle of the map is Mount Carmel, Mount Sinai, Judea, and some other names belonging to the Holy Land. Near a river, which seems intended to represent the Euphrates, are the words *Abicusia, Timisci, fixi compi de Sera*. In India are the islands *Crisa* and *Algure*, the *Chryse* and *Argurea*, or *gold* and *silver* islands of the ancients. The Nile is also represented, and a note appended to intimate that it flows from *distant mountains*, and over *sands of gold*. Thus the obscurity which involves the origin of the Nile has been in all ages a subject of observation and source of fable. To the north of this map is the island *Tile*. In fine, beyond Africa, to the south, are written these words, — "Besides these three parts of the world, there is beyond the ocean *a fourth*, which the extreme heat of the sun prohibits our being acquainted with, and on the confines of which is the country of the fabulous antipodes."

This map may have been useful to illustrate a work

of the same age, and of considerable merit, written by some Goth, whose name is unknown, but who is commonly styled the Geographer of Ravenna. It is surprising what a number of geographers this writer cites, whose names, but for him, would have shared the fate of their writings, and remained totally unknown. He refers to Castorius and Lollianus, Roman geographers; Hylas and Sardonius, Greeks; Aphrodisianus and Arsatius, Persians, who had written in Greek a Picture of the World; Cyachoris and Blantasis, Egyptians, who had travelled to the south of their native country; Probus and Melitianus, Africans; Aithanarid, Marcomir, and Edelwald, Goths.

The maps of the middle ages erred as often from the love of systematical arrangement as from the want of information. They may be generally divided into two classes; one, in which the ideas of Ptolemy and other ancient writers were implicitly followed, and the other in which were inserted newly discovered lands, or those of which the existence was either suspected or popularly believed.

Many maps of the first class exist in which the old world is represented as one great island, Africa being terminated to the north of the equator. This opinion of Strabo and Eratosthenes very naturally found more favour with the enquiring than Ptolemy's doctrine of an indefinite extent of *terra incognita*; a doctrine which, as it has the internal characteristics of fiction, could not fail to excite suspicion. Among the geographers who adopted this opinion, was Martino Sanudo, who endeavoured, about the year 1321, to excite a new crusade for the purpose of taking from the sultans of Egypt the trade with India, and accompanied his project with a map of those countries towards which he invited the attention of Europe. All the nations of Europe are marked in his map; but the Scandinavian kingdoms are joined to Russia by a narrow tongue of land inhabited by the Carelians (Dalecarlians), a *pagan nation*. The south of Africa is open to navigation, but the interior of

that continent is still represented as uninhabitable from the excessive heat. Sanudo was wholly unacquainted with the figure of Asia and of the Indian isles: like the Arabians, he places Gog and Magog in the north-east of Asia; the Tatars occupy the northern regions of that continent.

Among the maps of the second class, the most remarkable are those which seem to point out some important discoveries to the west of Europe and of Africa, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Scandinavians, it has been seen, were acquainted with, or even settled in Newfoundland, or some part of the continent of North America, as early as the eleventh century. But these navigations in the north-west were little thought of by the inhabitants of the south of Europe, and have nothing in common with certain discoveries towards the south-west, indicated merely by the maps of those ages, and without any support from the evidence of history.

A Spanish map, composed in 1346, presents Cape Boyador as a point already known, and which had been doubled by navigators. A ship is said to have sailed in the same year from Genoa for a river named *Vedamel*, or *Rui Jaura*, probably Rio do Ouro, and was never afterwards heard of. The Genoese historians assert, moreover, that two of their countrymen, Tedisio Doria and Ugolino Vivaldi, embarked in the year 1291 with the intention of sailing to India by the West; but no allusion is made to the fate of these adventurers. The Canary islands were never totally lost sight of: the Arabian geographers, from whom the Spaniards and Portuguese derived a good deal of information, frequently described them: they make their appearance in the Spanish map above referred to, in which Teneriffe bears the name of *Infierno*, or the Isle of *Hades;* for it appears that the ancient mythic tales respecting the kingdom of the blessed and the dwellings of the dead remained firmly attached to the Western Ocean.

The island of Madeira appears on a map made in 1384, under the name of *Isola di Legname,* or Isle of

Wood, which is actually the signification of its present name, yet the discovery of this island is generally supposed to have been made in the year 1419, or five-and-thirty years later than the construction of this map; but seamen, perhaps, were acquainted with it for ages before; and the first discovery, in this as in many other instances, is dated from the time when policy and learning began to give attention to the information of the mariner.

Many a hardy navigator, possessing all the courage and determination of Columbus, may, probably, have perished in the attempt to sail to India by the West; many a one may have made important discoveries which were subsequently forgotten. The dark ages, though they wanted an enlightened observation of passing events, did not want for active and enterprising spirits. The names of the *Isles of Brazil*, or *fire*, of *Corvos Marinos*, and of *Sant Jorzi*, which occur in maps of the fourteenth century, prove that the Azores were already obscurely known before the year 1380; and, indeed, there are some who wish to attribute the honour of their discovery to the Moorish inhabitants of Spain.

None of these discoveries interferes in the least with that made by Columbus; but one remains to be considered, which, if its reality were fully proved, would reduce the merit of that great navigator to the mere rediscovery of countries which were known, perhaps, a century before his time. This supposed discovery is indicated in a map constructed by Andrea Bianco in 1436, and preserved in the public library of Venice. In this map the old world is represented as one great continent, nearly divided into two unequal portions by the Mediterranean, and by the Indian Ocean, which runs from west to east, and includes a multitude of islands. Africa stretches from west to east in a line parallel with Europe and Asia; Æthiopia towards the east, and the kingdom of Prester John, are extended towards its southern extremity: like the Africa of the ancients, it still terminates to the north of the equator; the deep gulf which is formed by the sea on the western side is,

consequently, omitted. The shape given to Asia is quite as erroneous; the southern coast runs direct from west to east; the peninsulas of India and the Bay of Bengal are of course suppressed. The eastern side of Asia runs out into two great promontories, separated by an immense gulf; on that which is towards the north are placed *Gog* and *Magog*; the southern promontory is *Paradise*, with its four great rivers, two of which run into the Caspian Sea. To the west of these regions succeed the kingdoms of *Cathay* and *Cocobalich*, or Cambalu, then the city of Samarcand and northern India, with some cities of which the names (such as Udexi, Omindan, Lagade, &c.) are not easily interpreted; after these follow Persia and Syria. The nations of Europe are all mentioned with the exception of Poland and Hungary. Tatary is placed immediately at the east of Europe, and Russia occupies nearly all the north; it is separated from Sweden and Norway by a great mountain.

Thus far Bianco's map exhibits more ignorance than fiction: the chief errors which it commits in the outlines of Africa and Asia are copied servilely from ancient writers. But in the north and west it contains some indications of a more positive character. It exhibits Iceland, and the island called Friesland, as described by the Zeni, and besides these, another island in the north-west which bears the name of *Scorafixa* or *Stokafixa*. This word is supposed to be intended for *Storkfisch* (as the cod-fish is called in northern languages), and to be here applied to Newfoundland, where the cod fishery is carried on most extensively.

However, it must be observed, that Iceland was at that time remarkable for its great fisheries; and Nicolo Zeno remarked, in his account of Friesland, that the fisheries of that country were capable of supplying Flanders, England, Denmark, and many other countries. It is possible, therefore, that the word *Stokafixa*, or *Stockfisch*, in Bianco's map, may not be designed to represent any particular island, but may be intended

merely to incorporate, after the custom of the middle ages, the *mirabilia* or wonders of this quarter of the world.

But the island *Stokafixa* is not the only singularity which occurs in the map of Andrea Bianco. To the west of the Canary islands he places a country of great length, and of a quadrilateral form, to which he gives the name of *Antilia*. This country, in the same situation and with the same name, is also formed on the globe made by Martin Behaim at the close of the fifteenth century. Many believe that the *Antilia* of Bianco could be no other than the continent of South America; while others maintain that it owed its existence wholly to the author's imagination. Whatever may be the difficulties attending the former hypothesis, it must be confessed that the latter is far from being satisfactory; for the imagination of man is by no means endowed with such a degree of spontaneous fertility as to spare the critic the trouble of enquiring into the sources of its apparent creations. But, as the map of Bianco was certainly not so sceptically considered by his contemporaries, his indication of the island *Antilia* is not without importance in the history of geography.

But Bianco was not the first who placed the island *Antilia* in the Atlantic: it is found in maps drawn by Picigano in 1367, so early was the attention of European navigators turned towards the western seas.* The maps of Bianco contain much to interest, independent of their intrinsic merit: in the first sheet of his collection is represented the mariner's compass; together with some nautical tables, which show that mariners were already in the habit of calculating their course; but it is also evident that they only measured by the log, and paid no attention to longitudes and latitudes.

Popular tradition still favoured the belief in the existence of certain islands in the West. It was said that when Spain was conquered by the Arabs, a number of Christians embarked with all their property, and took

* Buache, Mem. de l'Instit. tom. vi.

refuge in an island, in which they had built seven cities. Thus it appears that in the time of Columbus the people gave the name of *Sette Cittade*, the *Seven Cities*, to the same supposed country of the West, which the learned called *Antilia;* and after Columbus had discovered the islands to which he gave the latter name, the Spaniards for a long time continued anxiously to search among them for the Seven Cities of their exiled countrymen.

To the north of Antilia, in a situation corresponding with the actual position of Newfoundland, the map of Bianco places another great island, called *Isola de la Man Satanaxio*, or the *Island of the Devil's Hand*. This name appears to have owed its origin to the union of an Arabian tale with the popular belief which sets the dwelling of the dead in the western ocean. The Arabians relate, that in the Indian Sea there is an island near which a great hand rises every night from the sea, and grasping the inhabitants, plunges them into the ocean. Many maps of the sixteenth century place in the north-west an *island of devils*, a name which was consequently given by some of the earliest navigators to a small island on the coast of Labrador.

The chief progress of geography in the middle ages was due to the great revolutions which took place in Asia, and which, by bringing forward strange and formidable nations into view, gave rise to an intercourse between the East and West. But previous to the consideration of these revolutions, and the continued correspondence resulting from them, it will be necessary to cast a momentary glance at some other sources of information not so susceptible of methodical arrangement.

The Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, in Navarre, wrote in 1160 a description of whatever appeared to him most curious in the south of Europe, in Palestine, Mesopotamia, in India, Æthiopia, and in Egypt. He does not positively say that he has visited all those countries; on the contrary, he often cites authorities for what he

avers: whence it may be concluded that his descriptions were drawn more from books than from experience. The dryness of his narrative and numerous geographical blunders, indeed, seem to prove that he wrote from scanty hearsay materials, particularly as far as regards the countries out of Europe. His chief object was to describe the situation of the Jews, and the cities in which they constituted numerous communities. In speaking of Persia, he turns, all of a sudden, to Samarcand, in which city, he affirms, there were fifty thousand Israelites: he then mentions Thibet, and the animal which yields the musk. He also names China; but the fables which he relates respecting the dangers of the journey thither show his extreme credulity. Some suppose that his work contains indications of a journey to India; in truth, he speaks at some length of Bassora, of its flourishing trade, of the black Jews of India, of the cultivation of pepper, and of the origin of pearls. Some of the names which he mentions are incapable of explanation, such as the island of *Nekrokis*, in the Persian Gulf, the kingdom of *Oulem*, the island of *Cinrag*, and the city of *Cingala*. Some of the cities which he ascribes to India are really on the coast of Arabia; as, for example, *Katifa* (El Katif), and *Zabid* on the Red Sea, where he embarked for Africa.

The spirit of trade in the middle ages, as well as the zeal of religion, directed attention to the East. Merchants of Bremen, thrown by a tempest on the coast of Livonia, completed the hitherto imperfect knowledge of the Baltic Sea; but the merchants of the Hanse Towns ventured much farther, and, following the traces of the Permians and Variegues, penetrated, perhaps, even into Tatary.

During the course of two centuries, the Genoese and Venetians, like the Romans of old, carried on, by caravans, a trade with India and with China. They set out from the shores of Syria, and of the Black Sea, because Egypt, whither the merchandise of the East arrived by the Red Sea, was closed against them as long as the hostility of the crusades continued between

the Christians and Mahometans. Egypt, it is probable, was not again opened as a channel of trade between Europe and India, until after the year 1260, when the Genoese had restored the Greeks to the empire of Constantinople. In recompense for this service, they obtained from the Greek emperors exclusive commercial privileges. The Venetians, when they found themselves shut out from the trade of the Black Sea, concluded a treaty with the Sultan of Egypt, in consequence of which Alexandria again became the emporium of Indian produce, and so continued to be, till the time when the Portuguese discovered the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, and opened a direct commerce with the Spice Islands.

Previous to this commercial revolution, the Genoese and Venetians received their merchandise from India and China by Caffa, Tana, and Ajazzo. It arrived by two different routes. A part of it was brought to Bassora, at the mouth of the Tigris, in the Persian Gulf, whence it was conveyed by the river, and across Persia to Tebriz or Tauris, from which place it was sent forward by the Caspian Sea, through Armenia and Georgia, to Tana, at the mouth of the Tanais or Don. The more precious and less bulky commodities were transported direct from Tauris over the mountains to Ajazzo or Aïas, on the Mediterranean Sea.

The merchandise conveyed by the other chief commercial route made a great circuit before its arrival at the Black Sea. It was conveyed up the river Indus as far as that river is navigable; and then carried on camels through Bokhara to the Gihon, whence it was despatched over-land to the Caspian Sea. From Astrachan the route to Asoph lay along the foot of Caucasus. This was the course that was followed also by the caravans to China from the Black Sea, which were sometimes, it is said, twelve months upon the journey. The countries traversed by these caravans were, in a great measure, deserts, inhabited only by nomadic tribes, without cities or cultivation, or other objects calculated to attract the

attention of the traveller: the journeys themselves were attended with both danger and fatigue: it is not surprising, therefore, that few relations of them remain, and that these in general bear the marks of being written under unfavourable circumstances. It is now time to return to the revolutions of Asia.

CHAP. III.

JOURNEY OF CARPINI INTO TATARY.

RISE OF THE MONGOL EMPIRE. — ZINGIS KHAN. — MONGOLS INVADE EUROPE. — OVER-RUN HUNGARY. — THOUGHT TO BE DEMONS. — THEIR THREATS — ATTACK THE SARACENS — MISSION OF ASCELIN. — ITS ILL SUCCESS. — LETTER TO THE POPE. — MISSION OF CARPINI. — THE CAMP OF BAATU. — JOURNEY TO THE RESIDENCE OF THE GRAND KHAN. — GREAT HUNGARY. — THE COUNTRY OF THE ALANS. — THE KANGITTÆ. — BISERMINI. — ELECTION OF A GRAND KHAN. — THE CEREMONIES. — THE GOLDEN TENT. — APPEARANCE OF THE EMPEROR. — RECEPTION OF THE FRIARS. — THE HARDSHIPS THEY ENDURED. — DESCRIPTION OF THE MONGOLS. — THEIR CHARACTER. — SUPERSTITIONS. — WORSHIP THE MOON. — TRIBES OF THE MONGOLS. — CLIMATE OF MONGOLIA. — PRODIGIOUS SHOWERS OF HAIL. — CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE CHINESE — PRESTER JOHN. — COMBUSTIBLES USED IN WAR.

The events which, in the course of the thirteenth century, brought together nations hitherto separated by the whole extent of the old world are almost without example in the history of the human race. The greatness of the Mongols, which seemed to embrace the universe, was created in less time than is ordinarily required to found and people a single city. The chief of a petty tribe, hardly distinguished among the tributaries of the Jou-chi, a principal Mongol nation, courageously resisted the attacks of some neighbours as unimportant as himself. The continuance of these struggles gradually led to bolder efforts directed against his superiors. His good fortune, and indefatigable spirit, made his horde or

camp the refuge of every discontented or unquiet character. His rivals are quickly humbled and his enemies destroyed. The country at the sources of the rivers Onon, Keroulan, and Toula, was the first theatre of the revolutions which shortly after spread through all Asia and a part of Europe. At length, in the year 1206, the heroic Mongol prince assumed the title of Chingis or Zingis Khan, and established the centre of his empire at Cara-corum, an ancient city of the Turks, situated between the Toula, the Orgon, and Silinga, nearly in the same latitude as Paris.

From this epoch in the history of the Mongols follows a series of uninterrupted victories. Each year a new kingdom was added to the empire. The successors of Zingis Khan, not contented with the immense extent of empire which that conqueror had bequeathed them, still acted under that impulse of ambition which he had communicated to the nation. Ogadaï, his immediate successor, having extended the Mongol dominion to the very centre of China, levied an army of fifteen hundred thousand men, destined to act at the same time at the opposite extremities of Asia, in the Corea, and beyond the Caspian Sea. Baatu Khan, under whom were many generals and princes of the royal blood, commanded the expedition which was directed against Europe. He over-ran the country of the Bashkirs, penetrated into Russia, and took the city of Moscow, with the other chief places of the principality. The grand dukes of Russia became in consequence the tributaries of the Grand Khan. At the same time another Tatar army ravaged the countries of Armenia and Georgia, where they met with a stubborn but ineffectual resistance. At the termination of the destructive campaign of 1239, a Georgian prince, named Avag, accompanied by his sister Thamtha, ventured in person to make his submissions to Ogodaï, who received him favourably, and gave him a letter to the Mongolian general Charmagan, commanding the restitution of his estates. The success of this journey encouraged many other princes of the West to

visit Cara-corum, and to obtain from the Grand Khan himself the redress of the injuries committed by his officers Many obtained from him their suits ; and the imperial tent of Cara-corum, like the papal throne, became the tribunal before which were determined the appeals of kings.

In the North, the Mongols again showed themselves in a more threatening array. In the year 1240, Baatu took Kiow and Kaminiek, and sent one of his generals to make the conquest of Poland. The army of this latter, divided into several bodies, crossed the Vistula, advanced to Cracow, took and destroyed that celebrated city, collected an immense booty, and spread the utmost terror through all the surrounding countries. The troops of Poland, Moravia, and Silesia, posted at Waldstadt, were defeated in a great battle ; after which the Tatars joined the army of Baatu in Hungary. This prince, with five hundred thousand men under his command, had routed the count palatine of Saxony, and scouring the country without resistance, destroyed every thing with fire and sword.

The alarm spread throughout Europe by these destructive irruptions is strongly manifested in the writings of that age. The people of Friesland, it is said, were reduced to great distress, having lost the season of the herring fishery from the fear of a Tatar invasion. Queen Blanche of France was unable to conceal her apprehensions from St. Louis : — "This terrible irruption of the Tatars," she exclaimed, "seems to threaten us with a total ruin, ourselves, and our holy church."—"Mother," replied that brave and pious prince, "let us look to Heaven for consolation. If these Tatars come, either we will make them return to the *Tartarus* whence they have issued forth, or else we ourselves will go to find in heaven the happiness of the elect." The equivocation which is here attributed to the king of France is strictly in harmony with the opinions of those times, when the expression *Tartari imo Tartarei* was in general favour.

In fact, an opinion very generally prevailed that the

Mongols were demons sent for the punishment of man, or at least that they had an intercourse with demons: this latter opinion received some support from the fire and whirlwinds of smoke which they had the art, it was said, of raising in the midst of battle. This is supposed to have reference to some species of artillery and inflammable powders, which the Mongols, according to the alleged testimony of the Chinese historians, were already acquainted with in that age.* Against those demoniacal invaders, succour was sought by solemn prayers and general fastings. They nevertheless still continued their successful progress. Hungary was totally reduced: the emperor Frederic was summoned to do homage for his kingdom, and he was offered in recompense whatever office he was pleased to hold in the court of the Grand Khan. This, according to the Tatar usages, was an honourable offer, and well proportioned to the rank and dignity of the first of Christian potentates.

In their negotiations with the Hungarians, the Tatars employed as interpreter an Englishman, who lived some time among them, and who wrote some account of their character and manners in the year 1243. Imprudence had made him an exile from his country: he had dissipated all his property in gaming, and careless of life wandered as a beggar through Palestine and Syria. He at length became master of several Eastern languages, and thus recommended himself to the notice of the Tatar generals. The account which this adventurer gives of the Mongols is far from flattering, and perhaps not very unjust. Yet he does not say that they feasted on the dead bodies of their enemies; or that "they devoured dead carcasses like delicious cates, while the very greedy and ravenous vultures disdained to eat the relics;" but it may be concluded from these expressions of Hacluyt, that such an opinion was entertained at the time. The pleasure which the Tatars took in spreading alarm among the Christians is quaintly described by the English adventurer:—

* Abel Remusat. Mem de l'Acad. des Inscr. vi 1824.

"Sometimes they say that they will make a voyage to Colen (the West?), to fetch home the three wise kings into their owne countrey; sometimes to punish the avarice and pride of the Romans, who oppressed them in times past; sometimes to conquer northern and barbarous nations; sometimes to moderate the furie of the Germans by their owne meeke mildnesse; sometimes to learne warlike feats and stratagems of the French; sometimes for the finding out of fertile ground, to suffice their huge multitudes; sometimes, again, in derision, they say, that they intend to goe on pilgrimage to St. James of Galicia."

The Mongols being now masters of Georgia and Armenia, were determined to add Syria also to their dominions. In that quarter they had to encounter the kings of the race of Saladin, and other princes, with whom the Christians also were engaged in war. The Franks, therefore, and Mongols had here a common interest. This political interest being united apparently with that of religion could not fail to attract the attention of the popes, who immediately sent missionaries to the camps of the Tatar generals, charged to spread abroad the true faith, and preach the spiritual supremacy of Rome. The enterprise, though great, appeared to promise success. It was rumoured that a great number of Christians lived among the Tatars. The story of Prester John, founded on the imperfectly understood accounts of Syrian Christians, was then current in Europe. Besides the Mongols, far from acknowledging Mahomet, waged unrelenting war with the Mahometans, and in an ignorant age this was thought to be a step towards Christianity. In short, the Tatars, who were first taken for sorcerers and incarnate demons when they attacked the Christians of Hungary and Poland, were now looked upon as almost converted, when they turned their arms against the Turks and Saracens.

The persons selected by Innocent the Fourth to execute these important missions, were, as might be expected, all taken from the cloisters; well disciplined churchmen, indeed, but wholly unacquainted with the business of

life. They were in their own persons objects of derision to the Tatars, and their whole demeanour was calculated to bring contempt on the court which they represented. The ambassadors appointed to proceed to the head quarters of the Mongols were Ascelin, Simon de St. Quentin, Alexandre, and Albert, all monks of the Franciscan order. They were all deeply impressed with a sense of the pope's pre-eminence, and fondly imagined that the mere announcement of his commands would be followed by a general and immediate submission.

These holy legates travelled through Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia; and at length, after a journey of fifty-nine days, found the Tatar encampment of Baiothnoy Khan, on the frontiers of Chowaresm or Chorasmia. The observations made by Ascelin on the countries through which they passed are extremely brief and unimportant, so that geography gained but little from the mission. When the friars were seen approaching the Mongol camp, the officers advanced to meet them, in order to learn their business, and whence they came. Ascelin replied, that he was an ambassador from the pope, who was the head of the Christian world. The exterior of the friars did not bespeak so high a commission; and the Tatars proceeded to enquire of them, whether the pope, their master and head of the Christian world, knew that the Grand Khan was the Son of God, (or of Heaven, as the Mongol expression might be more correctly translated,) and that the dominion of the whole earth belonged to him of right?" To this the astonished Franciscan very imprudently replied, "that the pope had never heard of the Grand Khan, or of his representatives; all that he knew was that there was a strange and barbarous people, called Tatars, who came ravaging and destroying all whom they met, particularly Christians; and his purpose was to exhort them to repent of their past wickedness, and cease to destroy the people of God."

The displeasure of the Tatars at this ungracious speech was, perhaps, moderated in some measure by their

astonishment at the figure of the barefooted friars. They next demanded, according to the Eastern custom, what presents the legates brought from the pope to the khan, their master. The friars, filled with ill-timed zeal, and ignorant of the forms which courtesy requires in the East, replied, "that the pope was accustomed to receive presents from all men, but never to give any to his best friends, far less to strangers and infidels." This insulting language was patiently listened to by the Tatars; who informed our legates that they might have an audience, provided they would conform to the usual ceremonies, and make three profound genuflexions, when admitted into the presence of the khan. The friars, after carefully deliberating on this offer, came to a decision that it would be a shame to themselves, and a scandal to all Christendom, if they were to perform such an act of idolatry to the heathen; they declared, however, that if the khan and his subjects would become Christians, and acknowledge the supremacy of the pope, they would willingly make the required genuflexions, for the honour of the church." The Tatars were naturally enraged at this proposition: they called out that the Christians were dogs; nay, they proceeded to the impious length of calling the pope himself a dog; and the horror-struck ambassadors were overwhelmed with threats and reproaches. But the rudeness of their behaviour had nearly incurred worse consequences than the menaces of the vulgar. It was seriously deliberated in the Tatar council, whether they ought not to be put to death: some advised that the friars should be flayed alive, and that their skins, stuffed with hay, should be sent to the pope; but the fear of reprisals, and the timely interposition of Baiothnoy's mother, finally prevented the perpetration of these inhumanities. The unhappy ambassadors, however, were treated with every indignity and mark of contempt: they were taunted with kneeling before the crucifix, and worshipping wood and stone, while they refused to bow to the Son of Heaven and ruler of mankind. They were supplied with provisions of the

coarsest quality, and in such small quantities as barely sufficed for the support of nature; and to complete the measure of their annoyances, they were frequently interrogated respecting the military prowess of the pope, his armies, victories, and conquests, and insultingly asked, how one who possessed but a spiritual dominion (the nature of which the Tatars could hardly comprehend) could dare to send ambassadors to the Grand Khan, whose victorious armies had subdued all the kingdoms of the earth from East to West.

At length Baiothnoy Khan consented to dismiss the friars; and a letter was given them to deliver to the pope, which contained the following unceremonious language:—"Know, Pope, that your messengers have come to us, and have delivered your letters, and have uttered the strangest discourses that were ever heard. We know not whether you gave them authority to speak as they have done; but we send you the firm commandment and ordinance of God, which is, that if you wish to remain seated in your land and heritage, you, Pope, must come to us in your proper person, and do homage to him who holds just sway over the whole earth. And if you do not obey this firm command of God and of him who holds just sway over the whole earth, God only knows what may be the consequence." With this haughty message, the ambassadors got permission to depart, and were glad to escape from the Tatar camp. They hastened to the nearest port of Syria, whence they immediately embarked for France.

While Ascelin travelled into Persia, another mission was despatched to the Mongol princes in the north-east, at the head of which was John de Plano Carpini, a Minorite friar. Setting forward on their journey to the Tatars, as they call the Mongolian tribes, "lest there might arise some danger from their proximity to the church of God," our holy envoys passed through Bohemia, Silesia, and Poland, in their way to Kiow, at that time the capital of Russia. They were treated with much attention in all the Christian states through which

they passed, the nations of eastern Europe being deeply interested in the success of their embassage. Skins and furs to be distributed in presents to the Mongol chiefs were given them by the duchess and nobility of Cracow. They were advised also not to take their European horses into Tatary, as they would inevitably perish by the way, not being used to dig under the snow in search of grass like the Tatar horses; and hay, straw, or other provender never being stored in that country to meet the exigencies of winter.

When the friars approached the frontiers of the Tatars, the purpose of their journey was demanded: they replied, "that they were messengers from their lord the pope to the emperor of the Tatar nation, to desire peace and friendship between the Tatars and Christians. Their lord the pope admonished the Tatars to embrace the faith of Christ, without which they could not be saved: he was astonished to hear of their monstrous and guilty slaughter of mankind, particularly of the Hungarians, Mountaineers, and Polanders, who were his subjects, and who had neither injured nor attempted to injure the Tatars; and as God is sore offended at such proceedings, the pope admonished them to refrain in future, and to repent of what they had done; and he requested an answer as to their future intentions." After making this declaration, the monks found means to proceed to the duke Corrensa, a Mongolian general, who was stationed with an army of 60,000 men on the banks of the Dnieper. Being arrived, they were conducted to the *orda*, horde or tent of this chieftain, instructed to bend the left knee thrice before his door, and carefully to avoid setting their feet on the threshold. These ceremonies being performed, post horses and an escort of Tatars were immediately appointed to conduct them to Baatu Khan, a prince of the imperial blood.

When the monks arrived at the residence of Baatu, in the land of *Comania*, or the country beyond the Cuban, they were commanded to pitch their tent a full league from his station; and they received, moreover, the fear-

ful intimation, that before their introduction at his court it would be necessary to pass between two fires. This precautionary ordeal, however, which was intended to charm or nullify their evil intentions, was gone through without any disagreeable consequences. They were presented, made the usual obeisances, and delivered the letters to Baatu, who read them with great attention. This prince carried himself with much magnificence; had a court arranged like that of the emperor; and when he gave audience sat on an elevated throne along with one of his wives. He had some beautiful and large linen tents which formerly belonged to the king of Hungary. When he rode abroad, a small tent, as Carpini calls it, or umbrella, was carried above his head on the point of a spear.

It appears to be the ordinary policy in the East, and particularly among what are vaguely styled the Tatar nations, to parade foreign ambassadors about until they have seen all the strength and magnificence of the state. In conformity with this custom, the envoys of the pope were ordered to proceed from the court of Baatu to that of the emperor or Grand Khan of the Monguls. The monks, however, had hardly strength or spirit enough remaining to enable them to encounter the fatigues of this new journey; for they had observed a strict fast during Lent, their only food being millet boiled in water, and their only drink melted snow.

The geographical notices which occur in this part of Carpini's narrative do not all admit of an easy interpretation. On the north of Comania, immediately beyond Russia, were a people called *Morduyin-Byleri*, in Great Bulgaria, and the *Bastarci* (Bashkirs) in *Great Hungary*, that is, in the country between the Volga and the Jenisei. Beyond these were the Parositæ and the *Samogetæ* (Samöyeds); and beyond these last, he says, on the desert shores of the ocean were a people said to have the faces of dogs. On the south of Comania were the *Asi*, as Carpini justly calls the Alans, although many of his interpreters have wished to alter the expression;

the *Kergis;* Cherkes or Circassians; the *Catti*, perhaps the Georgians of the province Kachetia, with other tribes whose names are not so easily explained.

From Comania the monks entered the country of the *Kangittæ*, who seem to be the Pechenegues of Russian history. This region, which was probably the desert to the east of the Caspian, had but few inhabitants, owing to the great scarcity of water. But human bones and skulls in large heaps were scattered through the plains, the awful monuments of Tatarian warfare. The *Comanians* and *Kangittæ* were pagans, dwelling in tents, subsisting on the produce of their flocks and herds, and totally unacquainted with the arts of tillage.

From the country of the Kangittæ, Carpini entered that of the *Bisermini*, who spoke the Comanian language, and observed the laws of Mahomet. This country, which comprised the northern portion of Sogdiana, presented a melancholy picture of ruined castles and desolated lands. A portion of that fine country, which is described by Oriental writers as a terrestrial paradise, was reduced to utter desolation by the victorious march of Zingis Khan.

When our ambassadors arrived at the residence of the Great Khan they were provided with a tent, and were treated with more kindness and attention than they seem to have hitherto experienced. Their arrival at this post happened at a very singular and interesting conjuncture. Ajuk Khan, or *Cuyne* as they call him, had not yet been formally elected and invested with the insignia of empire, so that our travellers had an opportunity of witnessing the state and magnificence of that great national ceremony. They saw an immense tent, large enough, as they imagined, to contain two thousand men, and round it was an enclosure of wooden boards, painted with a variety of devices. All the Tatar nobility were assembled, with their retinues, near this inclosure, and amused themselves in galloping their horses over the hills and valleys. On the first day they were all clad in white; on the second, when Cuyne came to the great

tent, they were dressed in scarlet; on the third day they appeared in blue, and on the fourth they wore rich robes of Baldachin, or figured cloth of Bagdad.

In the wooden enclosure encircling the great tent there were two gates, through one of which the emperor alone was allowed to enter. At the other gate were guards, who discharged their arrows at those who presumed to pass the proper limits. The saddles, bridles, and other trappings of the horses, were decked with precious stones and ornaments of massive gold.

The Tatar nobles at length assembled in the great tent, as if to consult respecting the election of an emperor. The rest of the people collected outside began to drink koomis or mare's milk in amazing quantities; Carpini and his companions were kindly entertained and treated with ale, as they were unable to drink koomis. At the outside of the tent were standing, Jeroslaus duke of Susdal in Russia; a great many princes of the Kithayans and Solangi; the two sons of the king of Georgia; the envoy of the calif of Bagdad, himself a sultan, and above ten other Mahometan princes. Our ambassadors were informed that there were above four thousand messengers present, some bearing tribute and some presents from the neighbouring states; others were sent to offer submission, or to represent the governors and chief authorities of the distant provinces. All these envoys were placed round the enclosure of the great tent, and supplied with drink.

After remaining in this place about a month, the whole assemblage moved to a fine plain a few miles distant, where another tent was erected, called the Golden Orda, or horde. This tent was erected on pillars covered with plates of gold, and the cross-beams were joined to the pillars with golden nails; the whole was superbly covered over with baldachin, having rich cloth hanging down on the outside. The close of the ceremonies at length arrived: on a certain day all the people assembled, standing with their faces to the south. Some, at a little distance from the rest of the multitude, were continually

employed in making prayers and genuflexions, from which the catholic monks concluded that they were practising incantations. After these formalities had been continued some time, the nobles returned to the tent, and Cuyne was at length placed on the imperial throne. The grandees immediately fell on their knees before him, and the multitude outside followed their example.

Soon after his inauguration the newly elected emperor gave an audience to all the strangers assembled at his court. All who approached his throne bore him some costly presents: jewels, purple garments, embroidered stuffs, horses richly caparisoned and armed, with other offerings, were heaped round the tent.

At length our poor ambassadors from the pope, after being first carefully examined lest they might carry some weapons concealed about their persons, were brought into the imperial presence: on being asked what gifts they had to offer, they humbly replied that their whole substance was already consumed. Their appearance, no doubt, sufficiently declared their poverty, and the Tatars overlooked their omission of the most firmly established of Eastern usages, that of offering presents to the throne. At no great distance from the great tent there stood in sight above five hundred carts filled with gold, silver, and silken garments: these riches were divided between the emperor and the grandees, who again distributed them among their several followers.

From the grave and imposing demeanour of the newly-elected emperor, who was never known to laugh, Carpini was inclined to believe him a Christian in his heart: several Christian priests resided at his court, and were permitted to strike the hours on bells and to practise other religious observances, which are contrary to the usages of the East; but the emperor, with all this toleration, never intimated any desire to change his faith. After some time the legates were again called in to deliver their messages: they were asked if there was any

one at the papal court who understood the Russian, Arabic, or Tatarian languages. Being unable to answer positively in the affirmative, the letter of the emperor to the pope was explained to them, and they were made to translate it into Latin: great pains were taken by the Tatar officers to ascertain the fidelity of the translation. They then received their passports and a letter sealed with the imperial seal. The mother of the emperor gave each of them a linen garment and a pelisse of foxes' skins with the hair outwards, and so they departed. Their journey homeward was performed amidst all the rigours of a Siberian winter. In the steppes or desert they often slept all night on the snow, unless where they could clear a piece of ground with their feet; and frequently they found themselves in the morning quite covered with snow which had drifted on them during the night. Through all these hardships they at length reached Kiow, where the people came out joyfully to receive them, congratulating them as men who had returned from death to life. Carpini had the merit of being the first to publish in Europe a rational description of the Mongol nation: though ignorant, bigoted, and credulous, he was not altogether destitute of talent and observation; and his prudent deportment procured him opportunities which the monastic austerity of Ascelin and his companions could never have expected.

The Mongols, or Tatars, he observes, differ totally in appearance from all other nations, being much broader between the eyes and cheeks: they have prominent cheek-bones, with small flat noses, and small eyes, the upper eyelids being opened up to the eyebrows. The crowns of their heads are shaven on each side in the manner of priests, some hair being allowed to grow long in the middle, and the remainder twisted into two tails or locks, which are tied together behind their ears.

In speaking of their character, he candidly weighs their good qualities against their bad ones. They are more obedient to their lords, he says, than any other

people, giving them vast reverence, and never deceiving them in word or action. They seldom quarrel; and brawls, wounds, or manslaughter, hardly ever occur. Thieves and robbers are no where found, so that their houses and waggons, in which all their treasure is kept, are never locked or barred. If any animal go astray, the finder either leaves it or drives it to those who are appointed to seek for strays, and the owner gets it back without difficulty. They are very courteous; and though victuals are scarce among them, they communicate freely to each other. They are patient under privations; and though they may have fasted for a day or two, will sing and make merry as if they were perfectly satisfied. In journeying, they bear heat and cold with great fortitude. They never fall out; and though often drunk, never quarrel in their cups. No individual despises another; but every one assists his neighbour to the utmost.

Having seen here the favourable side of their character, it will be necessary now to consider the reverse. The Tatars, says Carpini, are proud and overbearing to all other people, looking upon foreigners, however noble, with contempt. They are irritable and disdainful towards strangers, and deceitful beyond belief, always speaking fair at first, but afterwards stinging like scorpions. They are crafty and fraudulent, and cheat all men if they can. Drunkenness is honourable among them: they are filthy in their meat and drink, and in all their actions. They are importunate beggars, niggardly givers; and, finally, they consider the slaughter of other people as nothing.

In consequence of their superstitious traditions, many actions in themselves innocent were accounted criminal, and punished accordingly. To touch or even to approach the fire with a knife or any instrument made of iron, to lean upon a whip, to strike a horse with a bridle, to kill young birds, or to break one bone upon another, were all considered actions of a most unlucky nature. If any one had the misfortune to tread inadvertently on

the threshold of one of the great men's houses, he was punished with death. But while they are so scrupulous, observes our friar, with respect to actions in themselves indifferent, they do not consider it a crime to slay men, to invade the territories of others, to take away their goods, and to act contrary to the commands of God: they know nothing of the life to come, or of eternal damnation. "Yet," he adds, "that they believe in a future state, in which they shall tend flocks, eat, drink, and do the very same things which employ them in this life. They begin every great enterprise at new moon, or when the moon is full: they call the moon the great emperor, and worship that luminary on their knees;" indeed, it is conjectured that *Ay*, the great ancestor of the Mongol nations, is the same with *Ayou* the moon.

The information which Carpini's journal contains relative to the tribes of the Mongols is far from being as complete as his description of their character and customs. He says, that the land of Mongolia was formerly divided among four different tribes or nations. One of these was the *Yeka-Mongol*, or the Great Mongols; the second was the tribe of the *Su-Mongol*, or Water Mongols, who called themselves also Tatars from a river of that name in their territories; the third was named *Merkat*, and the fourth *Metrit*. All these resembled each other in figure and complexion, but were divided into distinct provinces under separate princes. The names which Carpini mentions here were evidently not arbitrary inventions; but he appears to have mistaken some petty hordes for the principal tribes of the nation. The enumerations of the Mongolian tribes which occur in the travels of Haitho and of Marco Polo neither agree with one another nor with that offered by our friar.

The geographical knowledge of Carpini appears to have been extremely limited, and his descriptions of the countries through which he passed are much involved in error and obscurity. He sometimes even confounds the Black Sea with the Caspian. "The land of Mongolia or Tatary is in the east part of the world," such is his

vague language, "where the east and north are believed to unite: it has the country of *Cathay* and the people called *Solangi* on the east; on the south the country of the Saracens; the land of the *Huini* on the south-east; the province of *Maimani* on the west, and the ocean on the north. In some parts it is full of mountains, in others quite plain, but every where interspersed with sandy deserts, not a hundredth part of the whole being fertile, as it cannot be cultivated except where it is watered by rivers, which are very rare. Hence there are no towns or cities except one named *Cracurim* (Caracorum), which is said to be tolerably good; we did not see that place, although within half a day's journey of it when we were at the horde of the Syra, or court of the Great Emperor."

To the south of Cara Cathay (the Black Desert), and south-west of Mongolia, Carpini says there is a vast desert, in which there are said to be certain wild men who are unable to speak, and have no joints in their legs; yet they have ingenuity enough to make felt of camels' hair for garments to protect themselves from the weather.

The climate of Mongolia is described by him as unequal and tempestuous in the extreme. In the middle of summer terrible storms of thunder and lightning occur, by which numbers of people are killed, and even in that season there are occasionally heavy falls of snow, and cold northern winds blow with such violence that a man can hardly sit on horseback. During these gales great clouds of sand are whirled through the atmosphere; and Carpini relates, that one of these storms coming on suddenly at the time of the grand ceremonies at the Syra Horde, he and his companions were obliged to throw themselves prostrate on the ground, every object around them being concealed by the prodigious dust. It never rains in winter, but frequently in summer; yet so gently as scarcely to lay the dust, or to moisten the roots of the parched herbage: but prodigious showers of hail not unfrequently fall, of the violence of which some estimation may be formed from the fact alleged by our

author, that while he was at the imperial court, at the time when the emperor elect was about to be placed on the imperial throne, above a hundred and sixty persons were drowned by the sudden melting of one of these showers, and many habitations and much property were swept away. In summer, sudden and intolerable heats are quickly followed by intense cold.

Carpini was almost induced to believe that the Chinese were Christians: he mixed together and confounded, perhaps, the exaggerated statements of the Nestorians and the information which he received concerning the doctrines and rites of Shamanism as it exists in China. "The people of Cathay," he says, "are pagans, having a peculiar mode of writing, in which they are reported to possess the scriptures of the Old and New Testament. They have also Lives of the Fathers, and houses in which they pray at stated times, built exactly like churches; they are even said to have saints, to worship one God, to venerate the Lord Jesus Christ, and to believe in eternal life; but then they are not baptized: they have no beards, and much resemble the Mongols in features."

It is singular that Carpini, while he listened with such easy credulity to the accounts of Christianity in China, should have gathered such an erroneous and imperfect history of the celebrated Christian potentate, Prester John; whose dominions, as far as history can trace them out, were at no great distance from the country which our friar visited. He transports that doubtful character into India, and unites to his mention of him some other singular circumstances. "When Zingis Khan," he relates, "had finished the conquest of Cathay or China, he sent one of his sons with an army into India; that prince subdued the people of Lesser India, who are black Saracens, and are also called Æthiopians. The Mongol army then marched against the Christians dwelling in the *Greater India;* and the king of that country, known by the name of *Prester John,* came forth with his army to meet them. This Prester

John caused a number of hollow copper figures to be made, resembling men, which were stuffed with combustibles and set upon horses, each having a man behind on the horse with a pair of bellows to stir up the fire. At the first onset of the battle, these mounted figures were sent forward to the charge; the men who rode behind them set fire to the combustibles and then blew strongly with the bellows; immediately the Mongol men and horses were burnt with wild-fire, and the air was darkened with smoke. Then the Indians fell upon the Mongols, who were thrown into confusion by this new mode of warfare, and routed them with great slaughter." It is impossible to find the origin of a tale which supposed the existence of a Christian prince in India; but the story related by Carpini, as it will be seen further on, may have been productive of very important consequences.

CHAP. IV.

TRAVELS OF RUBRUQUIS.

RUMOURED CONVERSION OF THE MONGOL PRINCES.—LETTER FROM ERKALTAY TO ST. LOUIS.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS HOLY RELICS TO THE MONGOLS.—DESPATCHES RUBRUQUIS TO SARTACH.—GERMANS DWELLING ON THE BLACK SEA.—TATAR ENCAMPMENTS.—JOURNEY TO THE VOLGA.—DESERT OF KIPJACK.—THE ALANS.—COURT OF SARTACH.—HOUSES ON CARTS.—SARTACH NOT A CHRISTIAN.—FRIARS SENT FORWARD TO BAATU KHAN.—OBLIGED TO PROCEED TO CARACORUM.—THE LAND OF ORGANUM.—DESCRIPTION OF THE YAK.—CANNIBALISM IN THIBET.—THE COURT OF MANGU KHAN.—EUROPEANS IN CARACORUM.—THE FOUNTAIN MADE BY WILLIAM BOUCHIER.—CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE UIGURS.—CHRISTIAN CEREMONIES IMITATED IN THE EAST.—CHINESE WRITING.—ISLANDS IN THE EASTERN SEA.—PRESTER JOHN.—KNOWLEDGE OF TATARY.—BRIGANDS IN THE CAUCASUS.—JOURNEY HOME.—HAITHO THE ARMENIAN.—THE TARSÆ.—TRIBES OF THE MONGOLS.

THE papal missions to the Tatars failed wholly in producing the effects expected from them; but they brought

home some valuable information; and by making the European nations better acquainted with the character of the Mongols, tended, perhaps, not a little to moderate the apprehensions entertained of those formidable invaders. Although the austere and narrow-minded ecclesiastics, selected for those embassies, were little qualified by the habits of monastic life to succeed in such delicate negotiations, it would yet, perhaps, have been difficult to find persons better fitted by their zeal, fidelity, and patient resolution to break first the path of communication between the Christians and the Tatar conquerors: their sacred character met also with some respect, and served undoubtedly to protect them from the violent treatment to which, from their stubborn inattention to Eastern usages, they were frequently exposed.

The successors of Zingis Khan were remarkable for the indifference they manifested to religious creeds. they entertained the national belief in the existence of one God; but were wholly unacquainted with any collateral doctrines or ceremonies of religion. Yet they were not exempt from superstitious weakness, and gave a favourable reception to priests of every sect and persuasion, in order that by engaging in their interest every solemn rite and every mode of prayer, they might more surely propitiate the will of heaven. Among other ministers of religion who flocked about them were many Nestorian Christians, who, willing to magnify their own efficiency and importance, and unable to comprehend the light in which they were considered by the Mongol princes, spread abroad the rumour that these latter were actually become converts to Christianity. This was more distinctly announced with respect to Sartach, a prince of the royal family, and son of Baatu Khan, who commanded the Tatar armies to the north of the Caspian.

It happened at the very time when this rumour prevailed, and while Saint Louis was engaged in his crusade against the Saracens in Syria, that Erkaltay, the Mongol prince who was attacking the same power from

the side of Persia, sent an embassage to the French king, in order to cement more closely an alliance founded in common interest. The tenour of his letter is variously reported: according to some, the ambassadors declared that the khan had embraced Christianity, and made war with no other intention than that of spreading abroad the true faith; but it is certain that they went to mass and conformed to all the catholic ceremonies. In consequence Saint Louis sent an embassy to Erkaltay, with a present consisting of a portion of the wood of the true cross, and bearing a letter in which he invited the khan to embrace the true faith, and acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the pope. The answer given to this letter, which must have caused not a little surprise at the court of Caracorum, is not known. At the same time a deputation was sent to Sartach, whose territories were between the Don and the Volga, in order to confirm and instruct him in his newly-adopted faith. At the head of this mission was William de Rubruquis, or, more properly, Van Ruysbroeck, a Minorite friar, from a village of that name near Brussels. He was charged, among other things, to observe narrowly what was the religion of the Tatar prince; from which circumstance it may be concluded that the king of France did not give implicit credit to the stories that were circulated respecting Sartach's conversion.

Our friar and his companions set out in June, 1253, on their journey towards the Don. "Towards the mouth of this river," observes Rubruquis, "there are many lofty promontories; and between Kersova and Soldaia (Sudak) there are forty castles, at almost each of which a distinct language is spoken: in this place are many Goths, who speak the Teutonic language." These were the descendants of the German tribes who migrated towards the shores of the Black Sea in the fourth century, and who still preserved their language in the middle of the sixteenth century, when Busbequius conversed with several of them in Constantinople.

As soon as the friars came among the Tatars they

were placed under "the shade of certain black carts," and surrounded by a number of horsemen. Their wine and provisions were taken from them; and they were kept in continual alarm by the rude menaces of the fierce Mahometans. At length, having showed some letters which they bore to one Zagathai, a nobleman in that province, who was related to the khan, they were furnished with horses and oxen to enable them to proceed to their destination.

Next morning our travellers met the carts of Zagathai laden with houses; "and I thought," says Rubruquis, "a great city was travelling towards us. I was astonished at the prodigious droves of oxen and horses, and the immense flocks of sheep, though I saw very few men to guide them, which made me enquire how many men he had under his command, and I was informed that he had not five hundred in all, half of whom had passed on to another station." In the course of the day they were introduced to Zagathai, who asked them if they would drink *cosmos*, (koomis, a drink made of mares' milk,) to which they gave an evasive answer; for it appears that the Greek, Russian, and other Christians, who mixed with the Tatars, made it a point to abstain from drinking that infidel beverage. They do not appear to have experienced here a very generous hospitality, or perhaps their stomachs were not yet reconciled to Tatar fare: so that, "if it had not been for the grace of God," says the pious friar, "and the biscuit which we brought with us, we had surely perished." They remained in the horde of Zagathai for ten days, and then set out on their journey, travelling due north till they reached the head of the Sea of Asoph; they then turned towards the east, having the sea on their right hand and a vast desert on the left, which, they were told, was in some places twenty days in breadth, without mountain, tree, or even stones. In this great plain the *Comani*, called *Capchat* (Kipjak), fed their cattle. The region beyond the Don appeared to Rubruquis extremely beautiful, especially towards the north, where there were great

rivers and extensive forests. "In the course of our journey," says he, "we left to the south certain great mountains, on whose side, towards the desert, dwell the *Cergis* (Cherkes or Circassians), and the *Alani* or *Acas*, who are Christians, and still carry on war with the Tatars." These Alans, or Acas, were the ancestors of the Ossi, who at present inhabit the broad valleys of the Caucasus.

After a painful journey of two months, during all which time he never once enjoyed the shelter of a house or tent, but was obliged to pass the nights in his cart in the open air, he reached the encampments of Sartach Khan upon the Volga. This prince maintained a splendid court. He had six wives, and each of these ladies had a great house besides smaller ones of the ordinary kind, and a train of two hundred travelling carts. "Their houses," says our traveller, "are made of wickers, plaited together and placed on carts, some of which are so large, that measuring once the breadth between the wheel-ruts of one of their carts, I found it to be twenty feet across, and when the house was upon the cart it reached over the wheels on each side five feet at least. I reckoned twenty-two oxen in one team, drawing a house upon a cart, eleven abreast. The axle of the cart was of a huge bigness, like the mast of a ship. The men that drove the cart stood before the door of the house. They go at a slow rate; and when they come to any place where they intend to make some stay, they take down the houses from the carts, turning the door towards the south, and placing the master's bed at the north end of the house."

When the friars were introduced to Sartach, Rubruquis commenced an apology for appearing in his presence empty handed, and excused himself on account of the poverty of his order: to this the Mongol politely answered, that it was creditable in a monk to observe his vow; that he himself did not need the gift of any one, but was willing to give his visiters whatever they might need. He then made the monks recite a bene-

diction for him, and asked some questions respecting the king of France.

In the morning our travellers were ordered to appear at court with the king's letters, and with all their books vestments, and other curiosities. "We were commanded," says Rubruquis, "to array ourselves in our sacred vestments to appear in them before the prince. Putting on, therefore, our most precious ornaments, I took a rich cushion in my arms, together with the Bible which I had from the king of France, and the beautiful Psalter, ornamented with fine paintings, which the queen bestowed upon me; my companion at the same time carried the missal and a crucifix; and the clerk, clothed in his surplice, bore a censer in his hand. In this order we presented ourselves; and the felt hanging before the lord's door being withdrawn, we appeared in his presence. Then the clerk and interpreter were ordered to make three genuflexions, a humiliation from which we were exempted; but they admonished us to be exceedingly careful not to touch the threshold of the door; we were desired also to sing a benediction or prayer for the lord, and so we entered in singing the Salve Regina." After Sartach and his wives had regaled their eyes with this strange spectacle, they narrowly examined the censer, Psalter, and Bible; and after a little time the friars were dismissed; the prince graciously permitting them to carry back their books and sacred vestments, which were coveted exceedingly by the attendants.

The curiosity of Sartach being sufficiently gratified, Rubruquis and his companions received orders to proceed to the court of Baatu Khan; their mission being considered one of such importance, that the prince dared not determine respecting it without the advice and consent of the khan his father. When Rubruquis ventured to make enquiries respecting the religious conversion of Sartach, he was warned to be careful what language he used on that subject, and told in angry terms that the prince was not a *Christian* but a *Mongol.* This employment of the word *Christian,* as a mere national

designation must have disconcerted not a little our zealous Minorites.

In the deserts between the Don and Volga were a pagan people, to whom he gives the name of *Moxels;* and beyond them were the *Merdus* or *Merduas,* a Mahometan tribe, whose possessions extended to the Volga. These latter were evidently the Cheremisses, who call themselves *Mari;* and the others were the Mordoans, who are named in their own language *Mocsha.* When the friars reached the encampment of Baatu on the Volga, they were again obliged to display all the pomp of their religious habiliments, to gratify the curiosity of the Mongols.—"We entered the tent barefooted," says Rubruquis, "and with our heads uncovered, forming a strange spectacle in their eyes; for though friar John de Plano Carpini had been there before me, yet, being a messenger from the pope, he changed his habit, that he might not be despised. We were brought forward into the middle of the tent, without being obliged to bow the knee, as is the case with other messengers. Baatu was seated on a broad couch like a bed, gilt all over; one of his ladies sat beside him."

Silence was kept for some time, "while one might rehearse the *Miserere.*" The friars were then commanded to kneel; and having declared the friendly purpose of their mission, were treated with koomis, and dismissed. They shortly after received orders to proceed to the court of Mangu Khan at Caracorum. In the course of this journey, Rubruquis crossed the Jaik, or Aral, and the country of the Bashkirs, whom he calls *Pascatirs,* and who spoke, as he affirms, the same language as the Hungarians. Farther on, he reached the city of *Kenchat,* in the neighbourhood of which were vineyards, and crossed a great river, the name of which he was unable to learn, or that of the country through which it flowed. At the city of *Talach,* which next occurred, he found a number of Germans dwelling amongst the Mongols. After enduring unspeakable fatigues, he arrived at the city of *Equius,* the inhabitants

of which spoke the Persian language, though so far removed from Persia. The great river was probably the Sirr, or Jaxartes, and the city called *Talach* may have been some place on the river Talas; but geographers have never been able to discover the situation of the city *Equius*. He says, that the inhabitants spoke Persian; and if he had a smattering of that tongue it is possible that he may have ventured to translate the name of their city, which was probably an *Ispahan*, *Ispake*, or some similar name, in which the word *asp*, a horse, is the principal root.

The ambassadors advanced next to *Cailac*, a commercial city in the land of *Organum*, a country rich in pasturage and cattle, and containing a lake of fifteen days' journey in circumference. This country took its name, according to Rubruquis, from the skill of the inhabitants in playing on the organ; but it is more probable that he ought to have written Irgonekon, the name of a fertile valley, not far from lake Balkash. The next nation among whom he arrived were the *Uigurs*, in whose country was the city of *Caracorum*. This city was enclosed with mud walls; had four gates, two mosques, and one church for Christians, though most of the inhabitants were *Tuinians* or idolaters. The Chinese inhabited a street to themselves. This was the termination of the journey.

The city of Caracorum, according to Rubruquis, is situated on the confines of the Jugurs, or Uigurs, whose territories extend to the north and west. The Tanguts occupied the mountains to the east of them. "Among the Tanguts," he says, "there are oxen of great strength, having flowing tails like horses, and their backs and bellies covered with long hair. They are shorter legged than other oxen, but much fiercer, having long, straight, and sharp-pointed horns. They are much used for drawing the great houses of the Moals; but they will not allow themselves to be yoked unless they are sung to at the same time." This is a correct description of the Sarluk, or Tatarian ox, better known by the Thibetian name of Yak.

Beyond these people, to the east, lay *Great Cathaya*, the inhabitants of which our traveller asserts are the *Seres* of the ancients. He was told that in that country there was a town, the walls of which were made of silver, and the towers of gold. The inhabitants of Thibet, according to Rubruquis, had once the habit of eating the dead bodies of their parents, from a motive of piety, believing that to be the most honourable sepulture; but in his time they had abandoned that custom, which was looked upon as abominable by all other nations. They still, however, continued to make handsome drinking-cups of the skulls of their parents, that they might call them to remembrance even in their mirth. This is precisely what Herodotus relates of the Massagetæ, and does not differ materially from what he states respecting the *Padæi*, who were probably the Thibetian followers of *Bauddha*, or Buddha, in Thibet. The same custom of putting the aged and infirm to death exists at the present day among the Battas in Sumatra; who, like the Massagetes and Thibetians of old, act under the influence of religious opinions, and deem a man guilty of the basest dereliction of filial duty who refuses to eat his father.

From Caracorum the travellers were conducted some days' journey over the mountains towards the north to the residence of Mangu Khan. The day after their arrival there they went to court barefooted, an adherence to the strict rules of their order which did not serve to exalt them in the eyes of the people; but their toes were so severely frostbitten on the following day, that they were obliged to abandon their pious resolution. People from the court compassionately brought them ram-skin coats and other warm clothing. Soon afterwards they were admitted into the imperial presence. They found the Grand Khan, "a flat-nosed man, of middle stature, sitting on a couch, covered with a shining spotted fur, like seal-skin:" one of his wives, a pretty young woman, sat beside him; one of his daughters, named Cerina, "a hard-featured young woman," sat

on another couch at a little distance. The strangers were politely asked whether they would drink *taracina*, a punch or liquor made of arrack; or *caracosmos*, that is, clarified koomis; or *ball*, a sort of mead made of honey. They answered that they had no pleasure in drink; but yet they tasted the *taracina*, which they found agreeable. The Grand Khan of the Mongols, in the mean time, was amusing himself with his falcons and other birds. At last the monks were commanded to speak; but after the conversation had been continued for some time, Rubruquis perceived that his interpreter, who had been gradually growing more and more inarticulate, was now quite drunk, and no longer able to utter a perfect sentence: he also began to suspect that the khan himself was not perfectly sober; he therefore kept silence, and was soon permitted to retire.

Our travellers found a great multitude of German, French, and other European prisoners residing at the court of the Grand Khan: they were employed to manufacture arms, and as artisans in a variety of ways; but particularly to work the mines at a place called Bocol, two months' journey to the east of Caracorum. These men, who appeared to Rubruquis to prosper exceedingly in their new situation, must have had a considerable influence on the arts and civilisation of Inner Asia. One of these ingenious strangers was a Parisian goldsmith, named William Bouchier, whose skill and industry found abundant employment in the service of the Mongol emperor.

In the neighbourhood of Caracorum Mangu Khan had a great palace in the middle of a court surrounded by a brick wall. In that place he celebrated festivals twice a year, at Easter and in the summer season, when all the nobility of the nation assembled about him; he then distributed garments among them, and displayed all the magnificence of his rank.

"Near this palace," says Rubruquis, "are a great many buildings like our barns, in which the victuals and treasures belonging to the khan are stored. But as

it was unbecoming to have flagons going about the hall of the palace, as in a tavern, William Bouchier, the goldsmith, planned and executed a great silver tree, just without the middle entrance of the great hall, at the root of which are four silver lions, having pipes discharging pure cows' milk. Four pipes are conveyed up the body of the tree to its top, which spreads out into four great boughs, hanging downwards: on each of these boughs is a golden serpent, the tail of which twines round the body of the tree; and each of these serpents forms a pipe, one discharging wine, a second caracosmos, another mead, and the fourth taracina, or a drink made of arrack: belonging to each pipe is a vessel or reservoir. On the top, between the four pipes, there stands the figure of an angel with a trumpet, and under the tree is a vault in which a man lies concealed, from whom a pipe ascends to the angel: on a signal given by the butler, he blows with all his might, and the trumpet sounds. In a building without the palace the liquor is stored, and poured by servants into pipes communicating with the tree; from which it is discharged into appropriate vessels, and distributed by the butler to the company. The palace is like a church having a middle aisle and two side ones, with two rows of pillars. Three gates open into it on the south, and before the middle one stands the silver tree: the khan sits at the north end, on an elevated place, that he may be seen by all; and there are two flights of steps ascending to him, by one of which his cup-bearer ascends, and comes down by the other. The men sit on the right hand of the khan, and the women on the left." In this description, drawn from a court in the heart of Asia, there is not a little which may recall to mind the manners of European nations in early ages. The figure of the hall of meeting, the dais, or elevated place on which the khan was seated, and the rude conviviality of an assembly of nobles, all employed in drinking, are striking traits of national resemblance. After several interviews with Mangu Khan, who appears to have been at a loss

to comprehend the object of his mission, Rubruquis received permission to depart, and was entrusted with a letter from the khan to the king of France.

The account which Rubruquis gives of the multitude of Nestorian Christians mingled with the Uigurs deserves the careful consideration of those who would examine the striking similarity that exists between Shamanism, or the religion of the Dalai Lama, and those of some Christian sects. The Nestorian clergy living among the Mongols were ignorant and worthless characters: their bishop visited them hardly once in fifty years; and whenever he came he caused all their male children to be made priests, even the infants in the cradle. They all indulged in polygamy like the Mongols, and shared with them in every vulgar superstition.

There is reason to believe that the Nestorians had penetrated into China as early as the sixth or seventh century, and carried into that kingdom the civilisation of the Bactrian Greeks. Rubruquis says, that in his time they inhabited fifteen cities in Cathay, their bishop resided at Segin, probably Sigan-Fu, in Western China, where monuments have been seen attesting the former existence of Christian establishments. The Nestorians of Tatary had imbibed the specious doctrine of the transmigration of souls: — "Even the wisest of them," says the French monk, "asked me if brutes could fly to any place after death where they should not be compelled to labour:" nay, the ingenious French goldsmith appears to have given way to the popular belief; for he assured Rubruquis, that the *Tuinians*, or Shamanists, had brought a person from Cathay, who, by the size and shape of his body, appeared to be but three years old; yet he was capable of reasoning, knew how to write, and positively affirmed that he had passed through three several bodies. This miraculous personage, it is easy to perceive, was a newly elected Dalai Lama.

On the other hand, as parade and glittering ceremonials are sure to attract the weak and ignorant, it is not unlikely that the Shamanists borrowed without scruple

from the Nestorian Christians the pompous externals of their worship; and that the resemblance between their rites and those of the catholic church is to be chiefly ascribed to an actual correspondence with the Christians of Central Asia; a correspondence which, although attended with important effects, has, as in many similar instances, almost escaped the notice of history. When Rubruquis entered one of the idol temples at Coilac, "for the purpose," as he tells us, "of observing their folly," he was so far misled by appearances, as to conclude that the people were actually Christians, and that they omitted the cross and image merely from want of instruction.

Behind a certain chest which they used as an altar, and on which they placed candles and oblations, he saw an image with wings like that of St. Michael, and others with their hands stretched out, as if blessing the spectators. Their priests shaved their heads and beards, and were dressed in yellow, resembling French friars in their general appearance: they wore also a cloak on their left shoulder, flowing loosely before and behind, but leaving the right arm free; "somewhat like a deacon carrying the pix in Lent." They carried with them, wherever they went, a string of one or two hundred nutshells, like a rosary, and while telling these they kept constantly muttering some pious sentences.

Rubruquis, it has been remarked, found strangers from many different nations collected in Caracorum. French, Germans, Persians, and Chinese, with people from Thibet and India, were brought together in that place, either by the vicissitudes of war or the inducements of traffic; and here is a striking instance of a truth which has been frequently illustrated in the course of the preceding pages, that the nations of the earth were never so wholly unknown to each other as might be collected from the silence of history as to the intercourse between them. Our intelligent monk had an opportunity of learning many peculiarities of the Chinese. "They write," he observes, "with a pencil, like that

used by painters, and in a single figure they comprehend many letters forming one word. The ordinary money of Cathay is of paper made like pasteboard, about the size of the hand, and with lines printed on it like the seal of Mangu Khan. The people of Thibet write as we do, and their characters," he continues, "are very like our own. The Uigurs write in descending columns, and the Thibetians, like the Arabs, from right to left." He also learned from the French goldsmith at Caracorum, that there was a nation called *Tanté* or *Mante*, inhabiting certain islands in the East, the sea round which was frozen in the winter, so that the Tatars could cross over on the ice and invade them; and that these people sent ambassadors to the khan offering a tribute of 2000 jascots yearly, or about 20,000 marks, as the price of his favour and protection. These islands must be sought on the north-eastern shores of Siberia, that being the direction in which warlike excursions on the ice were most likely to be extended.

Rubruquis, as well as Carpini, speaks of a Christian prince called Prester John, and gives this name to a brother of Unckhan, a Mongol prince of the Nestorian sect of Christians who reigned over the tribes of the Merkit and Kerait to the west of the Jugurs, and perished in 1203 in the wars with Zingis Khan, about half a century before the time of Rubruquis. Carpini believed that Prester John was an Indian monarch; but Rubruquis appears to have ascertained with correctness the true situation of that prince, whose name a little afterwards acquired such a fabulous importance. "Ten times more," says our traveller, "is reported about him than is true, for the Nestorians are apt to raise great stories on slight foundations: when I travelled through the territories of Prester John, no one there knew any thing about him except a few Nestorians." Unckhan, whom our author names also Vut (perhaps Buddh) Khan, abandoned the Christian worship, and established idolatry, "retaining priests to his idols who are all sorcerers and worshippers of devils."

It is remarkable that Rubruquis says he had been informed by Baldwin de Hainault at Constantinople, what he afterwards found true by experience, that the whole way eastwards (to Tatary) was a continual ascent, all the great rivers running from east to west, with little deviation. This observation shows that Baldwin had a very just idea of the physical character of central Asia. Our traveller learned that Cathay or China was distant twenty days' journey from the encampment of Mangu Khan; at the distance of ten days' journey due east was *Oman Kurula*, the original seat of Zingis Khan and the Mongols. Farther to the north there were no cities, but poor pastoral tribes called *Kerkis* or Kirguees: beyond them dwelt the *Orangei*, who bound smooth bones under their feet, and with these glided with such velocity over the ice and snow as to overtake wild beasts in the chase.

Rubruquis returned from Caracorum to the Volga by the same route which he travelled over before, but from Astrachan he turned towards the south, and passed through the Caucasian isthmus into Syria. From the town of *Saraï* on the eastern side of the Volga, perhaps not far from the modern Zarewpod, they travelled fifteen days without finding an inhabited place, except a little village where one of the sons of Sartach resided with a train of falconers. They were severely distressed also for want of water. At length they reached the mountains of the *Alani* or Ossi, who, along with the Lesghis, another tribe of mountaineers a little farther to the south, still defied the power of the Tatars, and pillaged all who entered within their territories. A guard of twenty men was, therefore, ordered to conduct our travellers as far as Derbend or the Iron Gate. The Lesghis, Ossi, and other Caucasian nations, at this day continue to exercise the profession of robbers, and look upon the sale of slaves and ransom of captives as the chief sources of wealth. The Russians, though nominally masters of the country, are still obliged to escort their mails to Tiflis with a guard of two hundred men.

From Derbend Rubruquis crossed the river Kur, from which he says the country was named *Kurgia* or Georgia, to the great plain of *Moan* or Moghan, in which the march of the Roman army under Pompey is said to have been arrested by the multitude of serpents that burrowed in the gaps of that parched desert. He then passed by *Naxvan* or Nakshivan, Erzerum, Siwas, and Cæsarea, till he reached Iconium: here he found many Franks established; and informs us that Italian merchants had farmed from the sultan of the Ottomans the monopoly of those alum works from which all Europe was supplied till the fifteenth century. From Iconium he went to the port of Curch, where he embarked to return home.

To this account of the mission of Rubruquis it may not be improper to append a short notice of the travels of his contemporary, Haitho, the eldest son of Leon II., king of Armenia. During the reign of his father in 1254, that prince, accompanied by his wife and child, travelled to the court of Mangu Khan, the great sovereign of the Mongols, for the purpose of obtaining an abatement of the tribute imposed by the conquerors on his country, and it is supposed that he was successful in his negotiations. His journey to Caracorum took place in the same year in which Rubruquis returned; and while at the court of Sartach he was of material service to some of the attendants of Rubruquis who had been left at that station, and who, but for his interference, must have perished by famine, or been perhaps reduced to slavery. The narrative of his journey is by no means interesting, but a few geographical particulars may be collected from it.

The empire of Cathay, he says, is one of the most extensive, opulent, and populous in the world, and is situated entirely on the sea coast. The inhabitants have a high idea of their own superior intelligence, which they express by saying, that they alone of all the people on earth have two eyes: to the Latins they allow one, and consider all other nations as blind. To the west

the empire of Cathay is bounded, he says, by that of the *Tarsæ* (infidels), to the north by the desert of Belgian, and to the south by the sea, in which there are innumerable islands.

The empire of Tarsæ is divided into three provinces, each of which has a sovereign who assumes the title of king: the inhabitants are called Jugurs or Uigurs. They are divided into many tribes, ten of whom are Christians, and the remainder heathens. They abstain from every article of food which has ever had life, and drink no wine. Their towns are agreeable, and contain a great number of idol temples. They are not inclined to war, but learn all arts and sciences with great facility; and have a particular manner of writing, which is adopted by all the neighbouring nations. To the east this country is bounded by Cathay, to the west by Turkestan, to the north by an extensive desert, and to the south by a very extensive desert named Sym, or Pym, in which diamonds are found, and which is situated between Cathay and India. The enumeration of the Mongol tribes made by Haitho has no resemblance with that of Carpini. He divides them into seven nations; viz. Tatars, Tangut, Kunat, Jalaïr, Soniah, Monghi, and Taboth. His descriptions of Turkestan, Khorasan, and Cumania, offer nothing new or important.

CHAP. V.

TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO.

THE TWO POLI VISIT BOLGAR. — GO TO BOKHARA. — PROCEED TO THE COURT OF THE GRAND KHAN. — RETURN HOME. — MARCO POLO TRAVELS TO CHINA. — HIS SUCCESS. — FAVOUR AT COURT. — EMBASSAGE FROM PERSIA. — THE POLI PERMITTED TO LEAVE CHINA. — NAVIGATE THE INDIAN SEAS. — PASS THROUGH ARMENIA. — THEIR ARRIVAL AT VENICE. — EXPEDIENT TO DISPLAY THEIR WEALTH. — WAR WITH GENOA. — MARCO POLO TAKEN PRISONER. — WRITES HIS NARRATIVE. — RELEASED FROM CAPTIVITY. — RETURNS HOME. — HIS ACCOUNT OF ASIA. — BALKH. — BALAXIA. — CASHMEER. — SARTAM. — DESERT OF LOP. — HAUNTED BY EVIL SPIRITS. — THEIR MALICIOUS ARTS. — TANGUT. — MANNERS OF THE TATARS. — INTERMENT OF THE KHANS. — THE YAK. — PAVILION OF THE KHAN. — HIS WHITE HORSES. — SPLENDOUR OF HIS COURT. — CITY OF CAMBALU. — ITS FORM AND SIZE. — PALACE OF THE KHAN — ITS PARKS AND GARDENS.

While the most powerful kingdoms in Europe trembled at the dangerous proximity of the Tatar hordes which were now firmly established in the east of Europe, the merchants of Genoa and Venice felt not a little satisfaction, perhaps, at the prospect of new and ample markets being thus opened for the commodities of the West. The character of a merchant is held in much respect by Eastern nations: pomp and profusion are reckoned by them among the virtues of a prince; the simplicity of the Tatars and their ignorance of Europe promised ample profits to those who first ventured to open a correspondence with them. The valuable productions of the East had so firmly associated the idea of wealth with that quarter of the world, that it would be matter of surprise if the enterprising merchants of the Italian states had neglected to try their fortunes at the courts of the Tatarian princes.

Two noble Venetians, named Maffio and Nicolo Polo, were among the first to make the experiment. After

disposing of a large stock of merchandise at Constantinople, they considered how they might employ their capital to the best advantage, and resolved on a trading visit to the Tatars, who had now resumed the occupations of peace in the plains around the Volga. They accordingly purchased a stock of jewels, and crossed the Black Sea in 1254, to the camp of Barkah, brother or son of Baatu, whose usual residence was at Bolgar or Saraï. On their arrival, they placed all their merchandise at his disposal, and he repaid their confidence with princely generosity. They were now ready to depart, when a war broke out between Bareka or Barkah Khan, and his cousin Hulagu, which rendered it unsafe for them to return by the same road by which they had arrived; they turned, in consequence, towards the east, crossed the rivers Jaïk and Sihon, and arrived at length at the great city of Bokhara.

They met here with a Tatar nobleman who took much pleasure in their varied and instructive conversation, and prevailed on them to accompany him to the residence of the Grand Khan. They consequently set out, and after a journey of twelve months, reached the imperial residence, at what they considered the extremity of the East. Their reception at court was extremely favourable; and when it appeared, from their manners and discourse, that they were persons of respectability, the khan resolved to send them back, accompanied by one of his own officers, as ambassador to the pope. They had not proceeded far, however, on their return, when the Tatar fell sick and was left behind; but having the imperial passport, they continued their journey, and at the expiration of three years, employed in crossing the continent of Asia, arrived at Acre in the year 1269.

When our travellers reached Venice, after an absence from home of fifteen years, Nicolo Polo found that his wife, whom he had left with child, was dead after producing a son, to whom she gave the name of Marco, and who was now approaching the age of manhood. Accompanied by this young man, the two merchants again

set forward on their journey to the interior of Asia in the year 1271, with letters to the Grand Khan from Gregory X. the newly-elected pope. In Badakshan, among the sources of the Oxus, our travellers remained a whole year, in consequence of the illness of young Marco, who profited, nevertheless, from the delay in acquiring a knowledge of the surrounding countries. They then proceeded directly to Khotan, crossed the great desert of Cobi, in a tedious journey of thirty days, entered the country of Tangut, and arrived at the city of Kan-cheu, where they again halted for a considerable time.

As soon as the Grand Khan, who at that time had his principal winter residence at Tai-yueu-fu, heard of their arrival in his dominions, he sent forward messengers a distance of forty days' journey to conduct them to his presence. He received them with honour; and paying especial attention to young Marco, he took him under his protection, and made him an officer of his household. In this situation Marco Polo had an opportunity of displaying his abilities: he adopted the dress and customs of the country, and made himself master of the four principal languages then in use, which were probably the Mongol, the Turkish, the Manchu of eastern Tatary, and the Chinese. By his talents and the variety of his accomplishments, he soon acquired a great degree of influence at court, was employed on missions to the most distant provinces of the empire, and even held for the usual period of three years the high rank of governor of the city Yang-cheu-fu, in the province of Kiang Nang.

After the three Poli had resided about seventeen years in the dominions of the Grand Khan, enjoying in the highest degree his confidence and favour, they began to feel the natural wish to return to their native country But the emperor, who had conceived an attachment to them all, and particularly valued the abilities of Marco, heard with much dissatisfaction of their desire to leave him: he reproached them with ingratitude, and declared that if gain was the object of their pursuit, he was willing to gratify their utmost wishes; but he positively

refused to permit their departure. At this conjuncture an accident occurred which most unexpectedly relieved them from their disagreeable situation. An embassy arrived from Arghun, a Mongol prince who ruled in Persia, and grand nephew of Kublaï, to solicit in marriage a princess of the royal blood. The Great Khan complied with the request, and a princess was accordingly selected from among his grand-daughters, and accepted by the ambassadors in the name of their master. The betrothed queen soon after, with a numerous train of attendants, set out on her journey to Persia; but, after travelling for some months, it was found dangerous to attempt proceeding over-land, from the disturbed state of the country, and the party were compelled to retrace their steps to the capital.

It happened that at this very time Marco Polo, who had been engaged in some expedition in the Indian islands, came into port, and soon after gave to the emperor an account of the safe and easy navigation of those seas. This circumstance coming to the knowledge of the ambassadors of the king of Persia, they sought the acquaintance of the Polo family, and finding that these also longed for an opportunity of making their escape, it was arranged between them how the matter was to be compassed. The ambassadors represented to the khan the necessity of their hastening back to Persia with the princess committed to their charge, and the expediency of their employing for that purpose the nautical experience of the Christians. The khan was unable to refuse his assent to so reasonable a proposal. Preparations were made on a great scale for this important expedition. Fourteen ships of four masts, and some of them with crews of two hundred and fifty men, were provisioned for two years. When the Polo family came to take leave of their friend and benefactor, the aged prince could hardly bear the thought of parting with them, entreated them to return to him after having visited their families, empowered them to act as his ambassadors with European princes, and loaded them with jewels and other valuable presents.

The fleet arrived safely in Ormuz after a voyage of eighteen months, touching, on the way, at the principal ports of the Indian islands. When the expedition arrived in Persia it was found that Arghun, to whom the young princess was betrothed, had died some time before, and that the country was distracted by the struggle between the usurper, who actually filled the throne, and Ghazan, the son of the deceased monarch. Of the subsequent fortunes of the princess history is silent. The Venetians, protected by the letters of the Great Khan, hastened to quit this theatre of intestine war, and passing through Armenia to Trebizond, and thence to Constantinople and Eubœa, arrived in Venice in the year 1295, after an absence of four-and-twenty years.

When they arrived in their native city, they could hardly be recognised by even their nearest relations. The effects of time and climate on their figure and complexion; their foreign pronunciation, for they had almost forgotten their native language; their Tatarian air and demeanour, and the coarseness of their garments, completely disguised them from their kindred. The opinion had also long prevailed that they were dead. Some members of their family had taken possession of their dwelling-house; and when they sought to be admitted, it was with difficulty they could bring the inmates of the house to understand that they were its lawful proprietors. Soon after they adopted a singular expedient to make their fellow-citizens acquainted with their return, and with the rich fruit of their distant journeys. They invited all their friends and connections to a splendid entertainment; when the company was assembled, the three travellers entered richly clad in robes of crimson satin; at the commencement of the feast they changed these vestments for similar ones of crimson damask, dividing the first among the attendants. Again, at the removal of the first course, they put on dresses of crimson velvet, the damask robes being in like manner distributed; and at the conclusion of the feast they again changed those splendid habiliments for plain robes, such

as were worn by their guests. The company wondered what all this meant. At length, when the cloth was removed, and the servants withdrawn, Marco Polo went into an adjoining chamber and brought forth the three coarse garments in which they had returned from their travels. They then began to rip open the seams and linings with which those patched and apparently worthless rags were doubled, and quickly brought to view a quantity of diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and other precious stones, which had been carefully sewn up so as to escape observation. When the company saw such a countless treasure, and revealed in a manner so unexpected, they were struck with amazement as if they had witnessed a miracle; but when they had recovered from their ecstasy of delight and astonishment, they were lavish of congratulations and civilities to their hosts, of whose wealth and nobility they had no longer any doubt.

They had not been long in Venice when news was brought that a Genoese fleet, under the command of Lampa Doria, had made its appearance in the Adriatic, and in consequence, a Venetian fleet, superior in number, immediately put to sea under the orders of Andrea Dandolo. Marco Polo, as an officer of experience, was appointed to the command of one of the gallies. In the engagement which ensued the Venetians were totally defeated, and our traveller, whose vessel was foremost in the attack, was wounded and forced to surrender.

From his prison in Genoa the fame of Marco Polo's great personal qualities, and the singular adventures of his life were soon spread abroad through the city; and he was visited by all the chief inhabitants, who endeavoured, as far as it was in their power, to mitigate the rigours of his captivity: he was called on continually to narrate the history of his travels, and to describe the court of the Grand Khan. His surprising relations were listened to with eagerness; but he was so often solicited to repeat them, that he at length thought of complying with the advice which was generally given him, to commit his narrative to writing. With that view

he procured from Venice the notes which he had left in the possession of his father, and assisted by a fellow-prisoner, one Rustigielo of Pisa, he at length completed the history of his travels; but it is not perfectly ascertained whether the account which we now possess be a copy or only an abridgment of the original manuscript, which was first circulated, it is supposed, in 1298.

The merits and accomplishments of Marco Polo procured him so many friends among the principal citizens of Genoa, that after a captivity of four years he was at length released from prison. He married on his return to Venice, but very little is known of his subsequent life. Although a very remarkable character in his age and city, it is not quite certain that any monument was erected to his memory; many doubting the accuracy of Sansovino's statement, who says, that "under the passage to the church of S. Lorenzo, which stands on one of the islets named Gemelle, lies buried Marco Polo, surnamed Milione, who wrote the account of travels *in the new world*, and was the first before Columbus who discovered new countries."

It is difficult at the present day to estimate the impression which the account given of the East by Marco Polo must have produced on his contemporaries. The immense wealth, population, and industry of China; the Tatar magnificence of Kublaï Khan, the countless hordes who yielded obedience to him; the numerous great islands in the Indian seas, rich in natural productions, though hitherto but little known; and those other islands in the East beyond China under the rising sun; a new world, in fact, was at once disclosed to view, and not by a superficial or casual observer, but by one intimately acquainted with most of the countries which he described, and who had enjoyed the favourable opportunities of official rank. Although many accused Marco Polo of falsehood or exaggeration, yet his volume was at all times a favourite study; and as the progress of discovery, so far from disproving his statements, continually tended to confirm them, his authority, instead of

falling into neglect, was daily looked up to with more deference and attention.

Of China and the court of Kublaï Khan our traveller treats with the greatest copiousness, not more, perhaps, from their intrinsic interest than because they were the subjects on which he was most frequently interrogated by all who sought the pleasure of his conversation. Yet in the course of the numerous missions on which he was employed, he had acquired a complete acquaintance with central Asia, and for many of those districts his descriptions are still the best that we possess.

The city of Balkh, which has been the emporium of a great caravan trade from the earliest ages, was in his time hardly recovered from the ruin which every where attended the march of Zingis Khan. In the lofty mountains to the south, there are, he says, great beds of rock-salt, to procure which, the people come from a distance of thirty days' journey all round. "It is of most excellent quality, and in such amazing quantities, that the whole world might be supplied from these mines." Six days' journey from Balkh was the country which he calls *Balaxia* or *Balascia*, supposed to be Badakshan. The people spoke a peculiar language, and their kings pretended to be descended from Alexander the Great; they consequently called themselves *Dalcarlen*, or Alexandrians. * The royal family also possessed a breed of horses said to be derived from Bucephalus, and marked in the forehead exactly as he was.

The province of *Chesmeer* or Cashmeer was seventeen days' journey to the south of Balaxia. The inhabitants had also a peculiar language, were remarkably addicted to idolatry and enchantments, "forcing their idols to speak, and darkening the day." In passing from Balaxia into Great Bokhara, he came to a great mountain which was said to be the highest in the world; a great uninhabited plain next occurred, twelve days' journey in length. Here Marco Polo relates an observation, which

* From Dou'lkarnain, the two-horned, the common title of Alexander the Great.

shows that the mountaineers of Asia had already observed the difficulty of supporting combustion in high situations and a rarefied atmosphere. "This plain," he says, "is so high and cold, that no birds are to be found on it; and it is even asserted, that fires do not burn so bright in this place, and do not so effectually boil or dress victuals as elsewhere."

Samarcand, Khotan, and Cashgar, are all described by our traveller; with the country of Sartam, in which the people, when the harvest was reaped, used to carry all the corn into the desert and bury it in pits, carefully obliterating all traces of their footsteps. Beyond these places was the city of Lop, on the borders of the great wilderness of the same name. It required, he says, a month's journey to cross this desert from north to south, but to go through it from west to east would require a year at least. Those who prepared to travel in it remained some time at Lop, in order to make suitable preparations, as no provisions of any kind were to be found in it for a month. These stores, along with the merchandise, were loaded on asses and camels; and if the provisions fell short on the way, the travellers were obliged to kill their beasts of burden, generally sacrificing the asses in that case, as the camels were better fitted to encounter the hardships of the desert. The journey lay entirely through sands and barren mountains; and in some places the water was so scarce as hardly to suffice for a small caravan of fifty or a hundred persons. "In the whole of this journey," says our traveller, "there are no birds or beasts to be seen. It is reported that many evil spirits reside in the wilderness, and practise wonderful illusions on travellers who happen to lag behind their companions, calling them by their right names, and in accustomed tones of voice; thus causing them to stray further from the right course, and to lose their way and perish in the sands. In the night-time, also, travellers are often persuaded that they hear the march of a large cavalcade on the one side or the other of the road, and concluding the noise to be that of the footsteps

of their party, they turn towards the quarter whence it seems to proceed; but upon the breaking of day, find they have been misled and drawn into a situation of danger. It is said also, that some persons in their course across the desert have seen what appeared to them to be a body of armed men advancing towards them, and apprehensive of being attacked and plundered have taken to flight; losing, by this means, the right path, and ignorant of the direction they should take to regain it, they have perished miserably of hunger. Marvellous, indeed, and almost passing belief, are the stories related of those spirits of the desert, which are said at times to fill the air with the sound of all kinds of musical instruments, and also of drums and the clash of arms, obliging the travellers to close their line of march and to proceed in more compact order. They find it necessary also to take the precaution, before they repose for the night, to fix an advanced signal, pointing out the course they are afterwards to hold, as well as to attach a bell to each of the beasts of burden, for the purpose of their being more easily kept from straggling. Such are the excessive troubles and dangers that must unavoidably be encountered in the passage of this desert." These wonders, related by our author respecting the desert of Lop, are generally believed in China and Tatary.

Beyond the desert of Lop, according to Marco Polo, is the city of Sachion, or Sha-cheu, in the great country of Tangut: the people are little addicted to merchandise and manufactures, and live wholly from the produce of the soil. In the country of Tangut, likewise, is the province of Kamul, the inhabitants of which appear to live only for amusement: they devote their whole time to singing, dancing, and sports, to playing on instruments of music, and writing after their fashion. Beyond the country of Tangut is the great desert of Shamo, which is forty days' journey in extent towards the north. The first place which occurs after crossing this desert is the city of Caracorum, three miles in circumference, and strongly fortified with an earthen ram-

part. Near the city is a great castle, with a superb palace, in which the governor resides. Such is Marco Polo's description of the capital city of the Mongols; but Rubruquis, on the other hand, declared that it was inferior to St. Denis.

The Venetian traveller gives an accurate and lively description of the Tatar nations, their manners, character, and constitution. They feed great herds of cattle, and numerous flocks of sheep, and multitudes of camels and horses. During the summer they remain with these in the pastures of the mountains and colder regions of the north, where they find abundance of grass and wood; but in winter they remove into the warmer regions of the south, in search of pasture; and in these migrations they frequently march a distance of two or three months' journey. Their houses are formed of slender rods covered with felt, mostly of a round form, and are carried along with them on carts or waggons with four wheels, the doors of these movable houses being always placed fronting the south. They have also carts covered so closely with felt, that the rain cannot penetrate, and in these their wives, children, and household goods are conveyed from place to place.

It has been an invariable custom, says Marco Polo, that all the grand khans and chiefs of the race of Zingis Khan should be carried for interment to a certain lofty mountain, named Altaï; and in whatever place they may chance to die, although it should be at the distance of a hundred days' journey, they are nevertheless conveyed thither. It is likewise the custom, during the progress of removing the bodies of those princes, to sacrifice such persons as they happen to meet on the road; saying to them, "Depart for the next world, and there attend on your deceased master;" being impressed with the belief that all whom they thus slay do actually become his servants in the next life. They do the same with respect to horses, killing the best of the stud, in order that he may have the use of them. When the corpse of Mangu Khan was transported to this moun-

tain, the horsemen who accompanied it, having this blind and horrible persuasion, slew upwards of ten thousand persons who fell in their way.

In the south-east of Tangut the Yak, or Tatarian ox, first occurred to our traveller's notice. He says, there are certain wild cattle in this country, nearly as large as elephants, with black and white hair, which is short all over the body, but three spans long on the shoulders, of a pure white colour, exceedingly fine, and in many respects more beautiful than silk. Many of these oxen are tamed and trained to labour, for which they are better adapted by their strength than any other animal. The finest musk in the world also is found in this province: it is procured from a beautiful animal the size of a goat, with hair like a stag, feet and tail resembling those of an antelope, but without horns. It has two teeth projecting from the upper jaw, about three inches long, and as white as the finest ivory.

Near the city of *Ciondu*, or Chang-tu, in Tangut, was a magnificent palace, erected by Kublaï Khan, of marvellous art and beauty, ornamented with marble and a variety of rare stones. On one side of this building was a great enclosed park, sixteen miles in circuit, into which no one could enter but through the palace. In this enclosure were meadows, groves, and rivers, and the whole was well stocked with rea and fallow deer, and other animals. In the middle of the woods included in this park, the khan had a superb kiosk, or summer-house, built of wood, on pillars richly gilt and varnished. Round each pillar a dragon, likewise gilt, entwined its tail, while its head sustained the projection of the roof, and its talons or claws extended to the right and left along the entablature. The roof was formed of bamboo cane, likewise gilt, and so well varnished that no wet could injure it. The bamboos used for this purpose where three palms in circumference, and sixty feet long, and, being cut at the joints, were slit into two equal parts, so as to form gutters; with these the pavilion was covered. The building was supported on every side

like a tent, by more than two hundred strong silken cords; as otherwise, from the lightness of the material, it would be liable to be overset from the violence of high winds. The whole was constructed with so much ingenuity, that all the parts might be taken asunder, removed, and set up again, in a very short time, at the command of the emperor.

The Grand Khan had a stud of horses and mares, all pure white, nearly ten thousand in number: of the milk of these none were permitted to drink but the descendants of Zingis Khan, with the exception of one family named Boriat, on whom this privilege was conferred by Zingis on account of their valour and achievements. So great was the reverence shown to these white horses, that while they were at pasture in the royal meadows or forests, no one dared to place himself before them, or otherwise to disturb their movements. The reverence paid to the white horse is said to have at present much declined among the Mongols. In the time of Rubruquis the Tatars collected together all the white mares, on the ninth day of the May-moon, in order to consecrate them; the Christian priests were also obliged on that occasion to attend with their censers and assist in the ceremonies; fresh koomis was poured upon the ground, and a great festival celebrated.

The power and magnificence of Kublaï Khan are treated of copiously in Marco Polo's narrative. These were the subjects respecting which he was most frequently interrogated; and perhaps, besides the impression made on his youthful imagination by the grandeur that surrounded the Mongol emperor, he still retained an affectionate regard for the master from whom he experienced so many flattering distinctions. "Kublaï Khan," he says, "was of a middle stature, well formed, and of a fair complexion. He had four wives of the first rank, each of whom bore the title of empress, and had a separate court. None of them had fewer than three hundred female attendants of great beauty, together with a multitude of pages and ladies of the bed-chamber; so that

the whole number of persons belonging to their respective courts amounted to no less than ten thousand."

Besides these four wives, the emperor had a number of concubines, chiefly drawn from a province of Tatary named *Ungut*, in which was a city of the same name, distinguished for the fair complexion and handsome features of its inhabitants. There is little doubt that this province called *Ungut* was the country of the Uigurs, who have been always considered as superior to the other nations of Tatary, both in respect of person and acquirements. Every second year, or oftener, according to circumstances, the imperial officers visited that country, for the purpose of collecting four or five hundred of the handsomest young women, according to certain principles of taste communicated to them in their instructions.

During the winter months Kublaï Khan always resided at *Cambalu* (*khan balikh*), or *the royal residence*, on the north-eastern border of Cathay. This is the Pekin of the present day. But the emperor having imbibed an opinion from the astrologers that this city was destined to become rebellious to his authority, resolved to build a new city on the opposite or southern side of the river. The new-built city received the name of *Taidu* (Ta-tu or great court), and all the Chinese inhabitants were obliged to evacuate the old city, and to take up their abode in the new one. The halves into which Pekin is divided by the river are still called respectively the Chinese and Tatar cities.

The new city, or Taidu, was of a form perfectly square, and twenty-four miles in circumference, each side being neither more nor less than six miles long. The Chinese and Tatar towns are all originally square; a preference being given to that figure, it has been supposed, from principles of castrametation; but it is possible that the superstitious attachment of the Mongols to the number four, may also have contributed to determine that choice. The whole city was encompassed with walls of earth, ten paces thick at the base, but diminishing towards the top. It was regularly laid out by line;

and the streets were, consequently, so straight, that a person looking from one gate might see the gate that corresponded to it on the opposite side of the city. On each of the sides were three principal gates, twelve in all, a sumptuous palace being built over each; and at each corner of the wall was a barrack built for the city guards, which amounted to one thousand men for each gate.

Outside of the city were twelve large suburbs, extending three or four miles in length from each gate, and containing a much greater number of inhabitants than the city within the walls. In each of the suburbs were numerous hotels or caravanserais, in which foreign merchants took up their abode, and to each nation a separate quarter was assigned. But these great suburbs described by Marco Polo appear to have dwindled away very much since his time. According to the account of Sir G. Staunton it employed only fifteen minutes to traverse one of the eastern suburbs, by which the English embassy approached the capital in 1793, and twenty minutes to traverse that on the western side, by which it departed.

On the southern side of the new city was the grand palace of Kublai Khan, the faithful description of which may have formerly brought on Marco Polo the charge of exaggeration, so far does the state and profusion of a Tatar emperor surpass not only the power of European princes, but even the easy grasp of European imagination. The palace stood within a vast square enclosure, the wall of which on each side was eight miles long: this wall was surrounded externally by a deep ditch, and a great gate was in the middle of each side. Within this outer wall there was another, exactly a mile distant from it; each side of the square which it formed being six miles in length: the space between these two walls was allotted to the soldiers to exercise and perform their evolutions. This inner square had three gates on the north side, and as many on the south: the middle gate on both sides was much larger and more magnificent than the others, being appropriated solely to the use of the khan; through

the others any one who pleased might enter. This custom of reserving separate doors for the sole use of royalty prevails generally among the Tatar nations.

Within the second wall there was a third, also at a considerable distance, enclosing a square mile. The interval between these two walls formed a park, adorned with a great variety of trees, and well stocked with deer and every other description of game: at the angles and middle points of the interior wall were eight great buildings, which served as storehouses and magazines for the retinue of the khan. Within this central or third enclosure was the palace of the khan, which extended the whole way from the northern to the southern wall, and was consequently a mile in length: sufficient space was left round it for the passage of the officers and soldiers attending the court. The palace, as Marco Polo describes it, was very lofty, but had no upper story; a circumstance that diminishes the apparent improbability of its great extent. The whole line of building was surrounded by a marble wall two paces wide, resembling a terrace. The insides of the great halls and the apartments were ornamented with dragons in carved work and gilt, figures of warriors, of birds and beasts, with representations of battles. The inside of the roof was so richly ornamented, that nothing was to be seen but splendid gold and imagery. The exterior of the roof was adorned with a variety of colours, red, green, azure, and violet; and the covering was of so strong a nature as to last for many years. At the present day, the Chinese palaces are always covered with highly-varnished yellow tiles. The glazing of the windows in the imperial palace, our traveller says, was so delicate and finely wrought as to have the transparency of crystal. It must not be supposed, however, that the Chinese of those days were acquainted with the art of making glass: the transparent windows of the palace were probably made either with talc or of some species of shell.

Not far from the palace was an artificial mound of earth, a hundred paces high, and about a mile in circuit

at the base: it was clothed with the most beautiful evergreen trees; for whenever the emperor received intelligence of a handsome tree growing in any place, he immediately caused it to be dug up and transported, with all its roots and the earth about it, on the backs of elephants, to this mount, which, from its perpetual verdure, received the appellation of the Green Mount. Within the same enclosure was a running stream, an aqueduct, and a pond, all stored with a variety of excellent fish, and stocked also with swans and other aquatic birds. "The view of this altogether," says the Venetian, "the mount itself, the trees, and the building, form a delightful and at the same time a wonderful, scene." These hills are noticed in terms of equal admiration in the account of Lord Macartney's embassy. "A halt," says Sir G. Staunton, "was made opposite the treble gates, which are nearly in the centre of this northern side of the palace wall: it appeared to enclose a large quantity of ground. It was not level, like all the lands without the wall; some of it was raised into hills of steep ascent; the earth taken to form them left deep hollows now filled with water. Out of these artificial lakes, of which the margins were diversified and irregular, small islands rose with a variety of fanciful edifices interspersed with trees. On the hills of different heights the principal palaces of the emperor were erected. On the summit of the loftiest eminences were tall trees surrounding summer-houses, and cabinets contrived for retreat or pleasure. The whole had somewhat the appearance of enchantment."

CHAP. VI.

TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO CONTINUED.

MANJI OR SOUTHERN CHINA. — KING FANFUR. — HIS OVERTHROW. — PREDICTION FULFILLED. — MARCO POLO MADE GOVERNOR OF A CITY. — SIEGE OF SAYANFU. — SERVICES OF THE POLI. — GREAT TRADE OF SIN-GUI. — THE RIVER KIANG. — CITY OF KIN-SAI. — ITS SIZE. — MARKETS, CANALS, AND BRIDGES. — POPULATION. — POLICE. — SALE OF CHILDREN. — PORT OF ZAITUN. — MANUFACTURE OF PORCELAIN. — CANNIBALS IN CHINA. — THIBET. — METHOD OF FRIGHTENING WILD BEASTS. — SORCERERS. — SALT USED AS MONEY. — MUSK GAZELLES. — DESCRIPTION OF CROCODILES. — SUPERSTITION IN CARAZAN. — CUSTOM OF GILDING THE TEETH. — JAPAN FAMOUS FOR ITS WEALTH. — THE TATARS FAIL TO CONQUER IT. — THE GENERALS PUNISHED. — COUNTRY OF CIAMPA. — GREATER JAVA. — LESSER JAVA. — THE RHINOCEROS. — SAGO. — CEYLON. — THE KING'S RUBY. — MANNERS OF THE HINDOOS. — ST. THOMAS. — ARABIAN PORTS. — MADAGASCAR. — THE ROKH. — ABYSSINIA. — THE NORTH OF EUROPE. — MERITS OF MARCO POLO. — THE MISSIONARIES. — JOHN DE MONTECORVINO VISITS PERSIA AND INDIA. — PROCEEDS TO CHINA. — THWARTED BY THE NESTORIANS. — HIS SUCCESS. — CONVERTS A MONGOL PRINCE. — HIS GREAT LABOURS. — CREATED ARCHBISHOP OF CAMBALU.

Marco Polo was the first European who visited China; and certainly none of those who have succeeded him ever enjoyed equal opportunities of acquiring a perfect knowledge of that country. The account, however, which he published of his travels was adapted to the taste and sentiments of the age in which he lived; and much of his valuable information was probably withheld, from a fear that it might not prove generally interesting. The splendour and state of the imperial court, the manners and military organisation of the Tatars, occupy a comparatively larger portion of his volume than the character, commerce, and industry of the Chinese; and yet it is quite evident that these had sufficiently engaged his attention; and in proportion as he advances in the course of his description from the frontiers of Tatary

towards the south of China, he speaks in terms of continually increasing admiration of the arts, wealth, and population of the country.

To the northern part of China, or all that lay to the north of the Hoang-ho, or Yellow River, he gives the name of *Khatai* or Cathay; the country south of that river he calls the province of *Manji*. This province, he says, is the most magnificent and richest that is known in the Eastern world. About the year 1269 it was subject to a prince styled *Fanfur*, who surpassed in wealth and power all who had reigned in that country for a century before him. He was of a benevolent temper and pacific disposition. So much was he beloved by his people, and such was the natural strength of his kingdom, enclosed by rivers of the largest size, that his being molested by any foreign power was regarded as an impossible event. In consequence of this persuasion he neglected to encourage a military temper among his people, nor did he even maintain a body of cavalry in his kingdom, not being apprehensive of any attack. Among other instances of this prince's charitable disposition, Marco Polo observes, that he caused the children whom their wretched mothers exposed in consequence of their inability to maintain them to be saved and taken care of, to the number of twenty thousand annually. The existence of this inhuman custom of exposing children to death, or interring them alive, was a long time doubted, but the accuracy of our author's statement is fully vindicated by the testimony of an intelligent modern traveller, who calculates that about nine thousand children are in this manner annually put to death in the city of Pekin alone.*

Very different from the luxurious and pacific habits of Fanfur were those of Kublaï Khan, emperor of the Tatars, whose whole pleasure consisted in warlike enterprises, and the extension of his dominions. Having subdued all the provinces to the north, he now turned his eyes on the rich country of Manji, and for this pur-

* Barrow, Travels in China, p.169.

pose assembled a numerous army of horse and foot, the command of which he gave to a general named Chin-san Ba-yan, which signifies "the hundred-eyed." This general soon struck terror into the Chinese by the boldness of his movements, and by the severity of his executions when he met with resistance. He advanced, at length, against the royal city of Kin-sai, the residence of Fan-fur, who felt all the dread and indecision of a person unused to war. Alarmed for the safety of his person, he made his escape to a fleet of ships that lay in readiness for the purpose, and embarking all his treasure and valuable effects, left the charge of the city to his queen, with directions for its being defended to the utmost; feeling assured that her sex would be a protection to her in the event of her falling into the hands of the enemy. He then proceeded to sea, and reaching certain islands, in which were some strongly fortified posts, he continued there till his death. After the queen had been thus left behind to defend the city, it came to her knowledge that the king had been told by the astrologers, that he could never be deprived of his sovereignty by any other than a chief who should have a hundred eyes. On the strength of this declaration, which contained a condition that did not seem likely to be realised, she felt confident that the city could not be lost, although it was daily becoming more and more distressed. Enquiring, however, one day the name of the general who commanded the enemy's troops, and being told that it was Chin-san Ba-yan, or the *hundred-eyed*, she was suddenly struck with horror at hearing it pronounced, as she felt a conviction that this must be the person who, according to the prediction of the astrologers, was to drive her husband from the throne. Overcome by superstitious fear, she no longer attempted to make resistance, but immediately surrendered. Being thus in possession of the capital, the Tatars soon subdued the remainder of the provinces. The captive queen was honourably received by Kublaï Khan, and an allowance was assigned her, suitable to the dignity of her former rank.

The Venetian traveller describes, in order, all the chief places that occurred to him in a journey from the Hoang-ho to the south of China, their industry, population, and manufactories of salt, from which the khan raised revenues to an incredible amount. There is one of these cities, the mention of which in his narrative is connected with an interesting anecdote relating to himself. "Proceeding," he says, "in a south-easterly direction from *Chin-gui*, you come to the important city of *Yan-gui*, which, having twenty-seven towns under its jurisdiction, must be considered as a place of first-rate consequence. It belongs to the dominion of the Grand Khan. The people are idolaters, and subsist by trade and manual arts. They manufacture arms and all sorts of warlike accoutrements, in consequence of which many troops are stationed in this part of the country. The city is the place of residence of one of the twelve nobles, who are appointed by his majesty to the government of the provinces; and in the room of one of these Marco Polo, by special order of his majesty, acted as governor of this city during the space of three years." Such is the modest incidental mention which he makes of the great honour conferred upon him; an honour which, according to the existing forms and etiquette of the Chinese government, could hardly be enjoyed at present by any foreigner; but Kublaï Khan, though he generally respected the usages of the conquered people, yet frequently ventured to confer high offices on meritorious strangers.

There is another anecdote in our author's narrative, in which his father and his uncle are made to cut a conspicuous figure. The city of *Sa-yan-fu* in the province of Manji, a place of great strength and importance, was enabled by the advantages of its position to hold out against the Tatars for the space of three years. The besieging army could approach it only on the northern side; the others being surrounded by water, by means of which the place continually received supplies which no vigilance of the besiegers could prevent. The khan

was deeply vexed at the check which his victorious arms received at this place. This circumstance coming to the knowledge of the brothers Nicolo and Maffio Polo, they proposed to construct machines, such as were made use of in the West, capable of throwing stones of three hundred pounds' weight, by which the walls and defences of the city might be soon broken down and destroyed. Their offer was gladly accepted; some Nestorian Christians, who were found to be the most skilful artisans, were placed under their direction; the catapultæ were speedily finished, and employed against the besieged town with such effect, that it was soon compelled to surrender. This signal service, rendered by the Polo family to the emperor, contributed much to increase their reputation and their credit at court.

At the distance of fifteen days' journey to the south-east of Sa-yan-fu is the city of Sin-gui, which, though not large, carries on an immense commerce. "The number of vessels that belong to it," says our author, "is prodigious, in consequence of its being situated near the Kiang, which is the largest river in the world, its width being in some places six, in others eight, and in others ten miles. Its length to the place where it discharges itself into the sea is upwards of one hundred days' journey. It is indebted for its great size to the vast number of other navigable rivers that empty their waters into it, which have their sources in distant countries. A great many cities and large towns are situated upon its banks, and more than two hundred, with sixteen provinces, partake of the advantages of its navigation, by which the transport of merchandise is carried on to an extent that might appear incredible to those who have not had an opportunity of witnessing it. When we consider, indeed, the length of its course, and the multitude of rivers that communicate with it, it is not surprising that the quantity and value of articles for so many places, lying in all directions, should be incalculable." Yet he observes that the principal commodity transported by this internal navigation was salt,

which was not only conveyed by the Kiang and the rivers flowing into it to the towns upon their banks, but afterwards from these towns to all places in the interior of the country. He affirms that he once saw at the city of Sin-gui not fewer than five thousand vessels, while there were several other towns on the river where the number was still more considerable. All these vessels were covered with a kind of deck, and had a mast with one sail; their burden was from four to twelve thousand *cantari* of Venice, or from two to six hundred tons. They had no hempen cordage except in the running rigging; the hawsers or towing-ropes were made of cane or bamboo, split in their whole length into thin pieces, and twisted or plaited together in such a way as to form strong ropes three hundred paces long. By these ropes the vessels were tracked along the rivers; each vessel having ten or twelve horses for that purpose. On the banks of the great river Kiang was a continual succession of villages or inhabited places; numerous hills and rocky eminences overhang the water, on the top of which were erected idol temples and other handsome edifices.

But our author's admiration and astonishment at the dense population and inland trade of China are chiefly manifested in his description of Kin-sai. This city, which was formerly the capital of Southern China, is properly called *Hang-cheu*, but Marco Polo seems to have mistaken its ordinary epithet for its name. "At the end of three days' journey from *Va-gin*," he says, "you reach the noble and magnificent city of Kin-sai; a name that signifies the *celestial city*, and which it merits from its pre-eminence above all others in the world, in point of grandeur and beauty, as well as from its abundant delights, which might lead an inhabitant to imagine himself in paradise." He declared that he frequently visited this city, diligently enquired into every circumstance respecting it, and carefully noted down his observations. Yet it is impossible to give credit to his assertion, that according to common estimation the city of Kin-sai was

a hundred miles in circuit. The circumference of Hang-cheu at present is supposed by travellers to be eighteen or twenty miles; in most other particulars his account is confirmed by the descriptions of modern travellers. On one side of the city is a lake remarkable for the clearness of its water, and the picturesque scenery that surrounds it: on the other is a river, four miles wide, and bordered towards the sea by a fine strand as far as the eye can reach. Innumerable canals intersect the city in every direction, and appear, in the time of our traveller, to have formed some navigable communications between the river and the lake. He says, that the number of bridges were generally supposed to amount to twelve thousand. Those thrown over the principal canals, and connected with the main streets, had arches so lofty, and so well constructed, that vessels could pass under them, while at the same time carts and horses were passing over their heads. In almost every thing that he relates respecting the size of Kin-sai or Hang-cheu, he goes very far beyond the calculations of modern travellers; but as that city was formerly the royal residence and capital of the empire, it is possible that it may at one time have very much exceeded its present dimensions. He says, that it contained ten principal squares or market-places, each half a mile in length, and that these were at the distance of four miles from each other. In each of the market-places, three days in every week there assembled forty or fifty thousand persons, brought together for the purposes of traffic. Great canals were constructed, conducting from the river to these markets; and on the sides of these were great edifices of stone, which served as warehouses for the merchants from India and other distant countries.

In his description of Kin-sai, he enters into many particulars respecting the manners of the Chinese, and the police of their cities. He observes, that the people of the lower orders do not scruple to eat every kind of flesh, however unclean, without any discrimination; a national trait which has caught the attention of travellers at all

ages. The Chinese devours with equal appetite the flesh of an ox or a camel, a sheep or an ass. But quadrupeds that find their subsistence in the neighbourhood of dwelling-houses, such as hogs and dogs, are the most common animal food, and are sold publicly in all the markets.

Marco Polo happened to be at Kin-sai at the time of making the annual report to government of the amount of the revenue, and the number of inhabitants, and had thus an opportunity of learning that the latter were registered at a hundred and sixty *tomans* of fire-place; and as a *toman* is ten thousand, it follows that the whole city must have contained one million six hundred thousand families; among which multitude of people there was but one church of Nestorian Christians. This statement of the number of families in a single city appears to be excessive; but it must be remembered that the population of an ancient Chinese capital cannot be correctly measured by the standard of a modern city. The population of Kin-sai or Hang-cheu is said to be still immense, and not much inferior to that of Pekin. The population of this latter city, which is neither a port nor a place of inland trade or manufacture, nor even a resort for pleasure and dissipation, is computed to be above three millions. Every father of a family, or housekeeper, is required to affix a writing to the door of his house, specifying the name of every individual of his family, whether male or female, as well as the number of his horses: by this regulation the public officers were always well acquainted with the population and resources of the country within their several jurisdictions. Our traveller likewise remarked, that it was a prevalent custom among the indigent class of the people, who were unable to support their families, to sell their children to the rich, in order that they might be fed and brought up in a better manner than their own poverty would admit. Five-and-twenty miles from Kin-sai, at the mouth of the river which flowed through it, was the great port of *Ganpu* or Canfu, supposed by some to be the modern

Ning-po, one of the three Chinese ports which carry on a foreign trade.

Of the great commercial city of Zaitun, he observes that the quantity of pepper imported into it was so great, that what was carried to Alexandria to supply the demands of the Western parts of the world was trifling in comparison, perhaps not exceeding the hundredth part. Respecting the enormous quantities of this article consumed by the Chinese, he relates that the quantity required for the city of Kin-sai alone amounted to above two thousand tons yearly; but it is thought that in this instance he confounded the whole quantity imported with that which was consumed. The city of Zaitun stood upon a branch of the river which flowed through Kin-sai, and at the point where the two branches separated was the city of Tingui, distinguished for its manufactures of fine porcelain ware. Great quantities of porcelain earth were here collected into heaps, and in this way exposed to the action of the atmosphere for thirty or forty years, during which time it was never disturbed. By this process it became refined, and fitted for the manufacture. The heaps of earth thus lying in a state of preparation were frequently transmitted as fortunes to children and grandchildren. This is the only notice which Marco Polo takes of one of the most remarkable of the Chinese manufactures; but it may be supposed that having lived so long in China he had ceased to regard fine porcelain as a curiosity, and was, in consequence, satisfied to make this brief allusion to it, in the summary account which he published of his travels. The same excuse, though it must be confessed it is not quite adequate, must be offered for his silence with respect to the use of tea; which, both as a grand source of revenue, and as a remarkable national custom, could not possibly have escaped his attention. This omission has always furnished a principal argument to those who deny the genuineness of our author's narrative and the reality of his travels in China. But his general veracity is so fully established in the eyes of the ablest

critics that his silence with respect to the use of tea must be accounted for from the imperfection of his notes, and from the disagreeable circumstances under which he hastily prepared his narrative for publication.

Adjoining the viceroyalty of Kin-sai, according to our author, was the province of Koncha, the capital city of which was Fu-giu. This country was rich and populous, producing saffron and ginger in great abundance. But respecting the inhabitants, he speaks in singular terms: — "The people in this part of the country," he says, "are addicted to eating human flesh, esteeming it more delicate than any other; provided the death of the person has not been occasioned by disease. When they advance to combat, they throw their hair loose about their ears, and paint their faces of a bright blue colour. They are a most savage race of men, insomuch, that when they slay their enemies in battle, they greedily drink their blood, and afterwards devour their flesh." This, it must be confessed, does not seem to be a description of the effeminate Chinese; and it has been conjectured that the author has in this place inadvertently introduced his description of the Battas, a fierce tribe who inhabit Sumatra. But whence came this confusion? Does it not appear as if he really intended to accuse the Chinese of eating human flesh, and thus came to picture in his mind the warlike and painted cannibals of Sumatra? The Arabian travellers of the ninth century, it has been seen, cast the same imputation on the people of China. — Marco Polo seems to have travelled through the provinces in the western frontier of China, with which no other European has ever had the opportunity of becoming acquainted. In the high plains of Thibet were deserts of twenty days' journey in extent, over-run by lions and other wild beasts. Canes of a great size (perhaps bamboos) grew in abundance in every part of the country; and whenever travellers halted to rest at night, they made a great fire of these canes and of green reeds, which made so loud a crackling in the flames as to be heard for miles around, and to

terrify the wild beasts. The people of Thibet were said to be the most skilful necromancers in the world. They could cause tempests to arise, accompanied with flashes of lightning and thunderbolts, and produce many other miraculous effects. In the province of Kaindu, contiguous to Thibet, was a mine of turquoises, and a salt-water lake producing abundance of pearls. The usual money of the country was salt made into little cakes, worth about two-pence each. The hills of all this region were frequented by the musk gazelles in such numbers, that the air was perfumed from them at the distance of many miles.

The province of Carazan was infested by crocodiles or alligators, of which our author gives a singularly distorted account, "Here," he says, "are huge serpents, ten paces long and ten spans wide round the body: at the fore-part, near the head, they have two short legs, having three claws like those of a tiger, with eyes larger than a fourpenny loaf and very glaring: the jaws are wide enough to swallow a man; the teeth are large and very sharp; and their whole appearance is so formidable, that neither man nor any kind of animal can approach them without terror." Before the inhabitants of Carazan were made subject to the Tatar emperor, they had the custom of murdering every stranger who came among them possessing any superior qualities of mind or body, in hopes that his spirit, endowed with all its intelligence, would remain in the family.

In the province of Kankandan, both the men and women had the custom of covering their teeth with thin plates of gold: they were also punctured or tattooed on the arms and legs. The practice of gilding the teeth or of dyeing them black seems to belong properly to the Malay nations. In Kankandan, when a woman was delivered of a child, the husband immediately went to bed, where he remained like an invalid for forty days, receiving the congratulations of his friends and relations. This singular custom was observed also among the *Tibareni* in the mountains of Armenia.

Marco Polo was the first who made Europeans acquainted with the islands of Japan; and this distinct announcement of lands situated so far to the East had an important influence, it will be seen, on the maritime enterprises of the fifteenth century. "*Zipangu*," he says, "is an island situated at the distance of about fifteen hundred miles from the main land or coast of *Manji*." The name *Zipangu* is evidently the Chinese expression *Ge-pen-kue*, or the kingdom of Japan. "The people," he says, "are fair complexioned, well made, and civilised in their manners: they possess the precious metals in extraordinary abundance. The roof of the king's palace is covered with a plating of gold, just as we cover houses, or more properly churches, with lead. The ceilings of the halls are of the same precious metal: many of the apartments have small tables of pure gold, and of considerable thickness; and the windows also are loaded with golden ornaments."

The fame of Japan and of its incalculable riches induced the Tatar emperor Kublaï Khan to attempt its conquest, in order to annex it to his dominions. The expedition reached the island in safety, and carried by assault a fortress, the garrison of which refused to surrender. Directions were of course given for putting the whole to the sword; and thereupon the heads of all were struck off, excepting of eight persons, who by the efficacy of a charm, consisting of a jewel or amulet, introduced into the right arm between the skin and flesh, were rendered secure from the effects of iron either to kill or wound: when this was discovered they were beaten to death with heavy wooden clubs. Presently after a great gale came on which destroyed a great part of the Tatar fleet; the commanders returned homeward, and the soldiers, who for want of shipping to transport them were left upon the island, were in short time obliged to surrender to the natives. When the Grand Khan learned, some years later, that the unfortunate issue of this expedition was to be ascribed to the dissensions between the two commanders, he caused the head of one of them

to be cut off; the other he sent to the savage island of Zorza, where state criminals are executed in the following manner:—They are wrapped round both arms in the fresh hide of a buffalo, which is sewn tight; when this dries, it compresses the body to such a degree that the sufferer is unable to make the least movement, and thus perishes by a lingering and painful death. The attempt of the Tatars on Japan was made in 1264, not many years before Marco Polo went to the court of the Grand Khan.* To the hostility with which the Tatars viewed the Japanese, it may, perhaps, be attributed that the Venetian should accuse the latter of being cannibals, though he elsewhere calls them a civilised people. "The reader ought to be informed," he says, "that the idolatrous inhabitants of these islands, when they seize the person of an enemy who has not the means of effecting his ransom for money, invite to their house all their relations and friends, and putting their prisoner to death, dress and eat the body in a convivial manner, asserting that human flesh surpasses every other in the excellence of its flavour."

To the south of Japan extended the sea of *Chin*, or Chinese sea, in which, according to the information collected by our traveller, there were seven thousand four hundred and forty islands, the greater part of them inhabited, producing spices in abundance, and carrying on a great trade among themselves. Sailing fifteen hundred miles to the south-west, across the gulf of Yunan, he arrived at the province of *Ziamba*, or Ciampa, to the south of Cochin China, which paid to the Grand Khan a tribute of elephants and aloes wood. Marco Polo says that he visited this country in 1280, at which time the king had three hundred and twenty-five children, male and female. At the distance of fifteen hundred miles, in a south-west direction from Ciampa, our author places the island of *Java*, which he visited, and which, he says, is supposed to be the largest island in the world, having a circumference of three thousand miles. The particulars which he relates of this island render it dif-

ficult to determine whether it was Borneo or the island to which the name of Java is at the present day confined. It is still more difficult to divine the islands to which he gives the names of *Sondur, Condur,* and *Boeach* or *Loeach*. The island of Lesser Java, on which he resided for five months, was unquestionably Sumatra. It was divided, he says, into eight kingdoms, six of which he visited himself. One of these was *Samara* or *Samatra,* from which the whole island has taken its name; another was the kingdom of *Lambri,* the Lamery of Arabian geographers.

Among the curiosities of this country he mentions the rhinoceros, to which, however, he gives the name of unicorn. They are much less, he says, than elephants, having feet like that animal, and hair like that of the buffalo. He erroneously supposes that the horn of the rhinoceros is in the middle of the forehead. "The head of this animal," he continues, "is like that of a wild boar, and is generally carried hanging down upon the ground. They are filthy beasts, that love to stand and wallow in the mire, and do not in the least resemble those unicorns which are said to be found in some other parts of the world, and which allow themselves to be taken by maidens." In the kingdom of Fanfur, in Sumatra, a sort of meal was made from trees of a great size, by the following process: — the thin bark being taken off, and the trunk split up, the pith was taken out and steeped in water; after this preparation it was made into cakes, and afterwards broken into meal. "Some of this," says our traveller, "I brought home with me to Venice, and it tastes not much unlike barley bread." Thus Marco Polo was the first who brought sago into Europe, for that is evidently the production of which he speaks.

After mentioning the Nicobar and Andaman islands, he proceeds next to Ceylon, "which, for its size," he says, "is better circumstanced than any other island in the world." It was two thousand four hundred miles in circumference, but was said to have been half as large

again in ancient times; for the northern gales, according to the popular belief, corroded the mountains, which sunk, accordingly, in the sea. Marco Polo repeats the story of the great ruby in the possession of the king: it was reported to be a span long, and the thickness of a man's arm, brilliant beyond description, and without a single flaw. Kublaï Khan offered for this ruby the value of a city, but the king of Candy refused on any terms to part with so valuable a jewel handed down to him from his predecessors.

From Ceylon Marco Polo went to the peninsula of India, but his knowledge of that country evidently did not reach far beyond the coasts. He dilates at some length on the wonders of that country. The Brahmins, or *Abrajamin*, are described by him not merely as the religious caste of the nation, but also as the wise men and the sorcerers; without their assistance it was impossible to fish successfully for pearls, they alone having the power to control the monsters of the deep. Horses were rare in this part of India: they were imported from Arabia and Persia in the thirteenth century, in the same manner as at the present day; from the want of herbage they were fed with boiled rice, or even with meat. These statements of Marco Polo have been confirmed by modern travellers. In some parts of India, it is not uncommon to see horses fed with garlic, butter, and boiled sheeps' heads.

The veneration with which the Hindoos regard the cow did not escape the notice of the Venetian. The inhabitants of Maabar thought it a sin to eat beef, and many other kinds of flesh. Some tribes, however, named *Gaui* (cow-men), were privileged to eat the flesh of kine that died naturally, but they dared not put those animals to death. He also speaks of the palanquins in which the people of rank were carried about at their ease from one place to another. He likewise learned that St. Thomas the apostle had preached Christianity in India; that he lay interred in the city of Meliapoor, to the north of Maabar, and that miracles were per-

formed at his tomb. The dissolute manners of the Hindoos, displayed more openly in the neighbourhood of the pagodas, their abstinence from wine, and their aversion to the sea, all existed in the time of Marco Polo, just as they are at the present day.

After the description of India, follows that of the principal cities of Persia and Arabia, as well as of a part of eastern Africa; and, finally, that of the deserts of northern Asia, wrapped up in fable. The port of Aden was a great market, whence horses were exported to India, and to which was brought the greater part of the spices and other Indian produce destined for the ports of Europe. From Aden these goods were sent in small vessels to Suez, whence they were transported overland to Alexandria. To the north of Aden, on the western side of the Persian Gulf, was *Escier*, at present Adsjar, the neighbourhood of which produced a great quantity of frankincense. Marco Polo speaks also of the celebrated island of Ormuz, of its great commerce, and of its frail vessels sewed together with the twisted fibre of the cocoa-nut. He appears also to have visited Bassora; at least he knew that the best dates grow there; and he remarks that it is situated on one of the grand commercial routes between India and Europe. At Bagdad, seventeen days' journey from the sea, all the merchandise was packed on camels: this city was the market for all the pearls that were sent to Europe.

Of eastern Africa, our traveller mentions in the first place *Magastar* or Madagascar: it exported a great quantity of ivory. Mariners, he says, told strange stories respecting a great bird called *Rokh,* said to be found in these countries. This is the bird of which the Arabians relate, that it is able to carry off an elephant. From the same sources, perhaps, Marco Polo derived his information respecting the islands inhabited, some by men exclusively, and others by females. Of the African continent he mentions but two countries: Zanguebar, inhabited by negroes, and stocked with sheep very unlike those of Europe, and Abyssinia, to which he gives

the Arabic name of *Abascia* or Habesh. He also calls it Middle India. The sovereign of this country, who was a Christian, ruled also over Mahometans. Gold was abundant in his dominions.

From these southern climes our author proceeds to describe the regions of northern Asia. They abounded, he relates, in the most valuable furs; but the country was a succession of marshes, frozen over and covered with snow the greater part of the year. The islands in the Sea of Darkness abounded in birds of the falcon species. The inhabitants made use of sledges drawn by dogs. The sun never appeared during the winter months; and in these long nights the Tatars often invaded the country and carried off the furs. He concludes with observing, that in this part of the world is *Ruzie*, an empire of immense extent, and tributary to the Mongols.

Marco Polo has been justly styled the creator of the modern geography of Asia. Of all the travellers who visited the East previous to the fifteenth century, he is by far the most celebrated and esteemed. His reputation, instead of declining, as positive knowledge is increased, rises from the numberless instances of his exactness and veracity which are brought to light, in proportion as the countries which he has described are more narrowly examined. His contemporaries imputed exaggeration to his accounts of the power and civilisation of an empire situated at the end of the earth. But time, and an enlarged acquaintance with the East, have shown that his scrupulosity was equal to his credulity; that he has not invented a single one of the fables which have a place in his narrative; but, like Herodotus, has related with the same fidelity what he saw himself and what he heard from others.

The greater number of the small states into which Tatary was divided under Zingis Khan have disappeared; many of the cities have changed their names; and not a few have been totally destroyed in the course of the wars, which, for two hundred years, were unceasingly carried on by the tribes or nations which had

been comprised in the great empire of the Mongols. There are but a few principal points in the geography of central Asia in which the authentic information of the present day coincides exactly with the statements of the Venetian traveller. The unfortunate circumstances which prevented his publishing a more methodical account of his travels have cast a shade over his fame, and have deprived the scientific world of a part of the labours of this great man.

The kind treatment which the first catholic missionaries in China experienced from the Mongol emperors may possibly have been, in some measure, due to the respect entertained for the memory of Marco Polo, who had left that country but a very short time before the missionaries arrived in it. The humble labours of these pious men exhibit, occasionally, a degree of patience and persevering industry which are quite as astonishing as the brilliant success and activity of Marco Polo. The missionary who first reached Cambalu or Pekin was, perhaps, the most remarkable of the whole series.

" John de Montecorvino, a Minorite friar, was despatched by pope Nicholas IV., in 1288, to preach the faith in the East. He first visited the Persian court bearing a letter to king Argun from the sovereign pontiff. He then went to India, where he remained thirteen months in company with a merchant named Leucolongo, and one Nicolas de Pistoia, a monk of the order of preachers: this last died there, and was buried in one of the churches of St. Thomas.

In India Montecorvino baptized about a hundred persons; then continuing his journey to the East, with his companion, the merchant Leucolongo, he came to Cathay, that is to say, to northern China, and delivered to the sovereign of the Tatars the letters of the pope inviting him to embrace Christianity. But that prince paid no attention to the disinterested counsel of the pontiff, although at the same time he manifested indulgence, or even partiality, to Christians, and particularly to the Nestorians, who had multiplied exceedingly in his

reign, and who persecuted with the utmost rancour every Christian sect that differed from their own. The Italian friar suffered much from their opposition, and on several occasions very narrowly escaped being made the victim of their animosity. Eleven years he carried on alone this unequal struggle: at the end of that time he was joined by one Arnold, a Franciscan from Cologne.

Montecorvino had spent six years in building a church in the city of Cambalu. He had succeeded in erecting a steeple or belfry, furnished with three bells, which were rung every hour to summon the Neophytes to prayer. He had baptized about six thousand persons, and might have converted thirty thousand if he had not been so much thwarted by the Nestorians. He had, moreover, purchased a hundred and fifty children under eleven years of age, and who were still without religion; instructed them in the Christian faith; taught them Greek and Latin; and composed for their use books of prayers, hymns, and other religious effusions.*

Montecorvino expected to derive still greater advantages from having converted a Mongol prince of the tribe of Keraïtes, whom he called George, and to whom the relations of the middle age sometimes apply the name of Prester John. A great number of the vassals of this prince, hitherto attached to Nestorianism, followed his example. They embraced the catholic faith, and remained steadily attached to it till the death of George, which took place in 1299; but on this event they yielded to the seductions of their countrymen who had adhered to the Nestorian sect; and Montecorvino obliged to remain near the grand khan, was unable to make any effectual effort to prevent their defection.

A grand source of affliction to our indefatigable monk was the want of assistance in his apostolic labours, and his not having received for twelve years any authentic intelligence respecting the court of Rome; concerning which an Italian surgeon, who arrived in Tatary about

* Abel Remusat. Nouv. Mel. ii. 193.

1303, had spread abroad the most singular rumours. In consequence of this desertion John wrote a letter in 1305, dated from Khan-balikh, and addressed to the religious of his order, in which he entreated them to send him, among other assistance, choir books, psalters, and legends of the saints.

In this letter *, John de Montecorvino says that he had made himself complete master of the Tatar language, meaning the Mongol; that he had translated into that tongue the Psalms and the New Testament; he had caused them to be carefully transcribed in the proper character of that language; he read, wrote, and preached in the Mongol tongue; and if king George had lived a little longer, a complete translation of the Latin office would have been diffused through all the dominions of the Grand Khan.

In another letter, written the following year, John mentions the kindness with which he was treated by the Grand Khan; the honours done to him as the envoy of the pope; and of a new instance of imperial favour, in the permission he received to build a second church, not a stone's throw from the palace, and so near even to the chamber of the khan, that that prince could distinctly hear the voices of those who celebrated the service. Doubts might be raised with respect to the veracity of these assertions, if the Chinese historians did not all agree as to the favourable reception given by the Mongol emperors to priests of every persuasion; their courts being filled at all times with shamanists from India and lamas from Thibet; with whom the Nestorian Christians, and, perhaps, even the catholics themselves, appear to have been frequently confounded. Even his account of the conversion of the Keraïte prince might be considered as a fiction calculated to enhance the merit of his services; but it is perfectly in accordance with the relations of Oriental writers, who state, in fact, that there were many Christians among the Keraïtes, and

* Wadding. Annal. Script. Min. vi. p. 69.

name several princesses of that nation who openly professed the Christian religion.

At the end of some years, John at length received the reward of his long services. In 1314 pope Clement V. erected in his favour the archiepiscopal see of Khan-balikh, or Pekin, and sent to his assistance Andrew of Perugia and some others, whom he created bishops and the suffragans of Khan-balikh. Great prerogatives were accorded to that see, as well on account of the great influence it might have in extending the Christian religion through the remotest countries of the East, as from the great merit of the person who was first installed in the dignity. John received, for himself and his successors, the right to create bishoprics, to govern all the churches of Tatary, under the single condition of acknowledging the spiritual supremacy of the popes, and to receive from them the pallium, or archiepiscopal vestment.

The pontifical decree which contains these regulations incloses also a recommendation to the new archbishop to have the mysteries of the Old and New Testament painted in all his churches, so as to captivate the eyes of the barbarians, and thus lead them to the worship of the true God. This was said in allusion to a passage of one of John's letters, in which he mentioned his having caused the stories of the Scriptures to be painted for the instruction of the simple, with explanations written beneath them in Latin, Tarsic, and Persian letters, so that all the world might read them. By Tarsic characters he means those of the Uigur, whose country was at that time frequently called *Tarse*, from a Tatar word signifying *infidel*, and which appears to have been successively applied in Tatary to the followers of Zoroaster and to the Nestorian Christians.

John de Montecorvino died about 1330, and was succeeded in the archbishopric of Khan-balikh by a Franciscan named Nicholas. But from accident or other causes, the sees of Clement V. were soon entirely forgotten.

CHAP. VII.

ODERIC OF PORTENAU.

ITINERARY OF PEGOLETTI.—CARAVAN JOURNEYS.—GINTARCHAN.—SARA.—SARACANCO.—ORGANCI.—OLTRARRA.—ARMALECCO. CAMEXU.—GAMALECCO.—ODERIC OF PORTENAU.—TREBIZOND.—MOUNT ARARAT.—TOWER OF BABEL.—CHALDEANS.—MARTYRDOM OF FOUR FRIARS.—ODERIC COLLECTS THEIR BONES.—WORKS MIRACLES.—FOREST OF PEPPER.—FAIR OF JAGGERNAUT.—VOLUNTARY TORTURES.—CANNIBALS IN LAMOURI.—WEALTH OF JAVA.—SAGO TREES.—AMULETS FOUND IN CANES.—SHOALS OF FISH.—CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHINESE.—MODE OF FISHING IN CHINA.—FEASTS OF THE IDOLS.—VALLEY OF THE DEAD.—THE GRAND LAMA.—SIR JOHN MANDEVILLE.—HIS TRAVELS FABULOUS.—RIVERS OF ROCKS.—ISLANDS OF GIANTS.—LAMBS OF TATARY.—GROWTH OF DIAMONDS.—PALACE OF PRESTER JOHN.

POLICY, commerce, and religion,—those three great incentives to all bold enterprises,—continued during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to direct the eyes of Europeans towards the centre of Asia. The victories of Tamerlane, who checked for a moment the formidable progress of the Ottoman Turks, fixed the attention and the hopes of the Christian world. The caravan routes over Asia appear to have been much more frequented in those ages than is commonly supposed. The new channels of commerce through Egypt, and afterwards by the Cape of Good Hope, caused those routes to be gradually abandoned, and at last to be almost forgotten. A brief account of the course usually pursued by the merchants is preserved to us in the Itinerary of Francisco Balducci Pegoletti, an Italian merchant who travelled in Asia in 1335. The only portion of his work which has a direct connection with the history of geography is the chapter entitled "A Guide for the Route from Tana to Cathay with Merchandise, and back again."

"In the first place," says Pegoletti, "from *Tana* or Asoph, to *Gintarchan* or Astracan, is five-and-twenty days'

journey, with waggons drawn by oxen; but it may be accomplished in ten or twelve days if the waggons be drawn by horses. On the road, one meets with a great number of armed *Moccols* or Mongols. From Gintarchan to *Sara* or Sarai, by the river, it is only one day's sail; but from *Sara* to *Saracanco* it takes eight days by water: one may, however, travel either by land or water, whichever is most agreeable, but it costs much less money to go with merchandise by water. From *Saracanco* to *Organci* or Urgenz, is a journey of twenty days with loaded camels; and whoever travels with merchandise will do well to go to *Organci*, as it is a very convenient place for the expeditious sale of goods. From *Organci* to *Oltrarra* it is thirty-five or forty days' journey with camels; but in going direct from *Saracanco* to *Oltrarra*, it takes fifty days; and if one has no merchandise it is a better way than to go by *Organci*. From *Oltrarra* to *Armalecco* it is forty-five days' journey with loaded asses, and in this road one meets every day with Mongols. From *Armalecco* to *Camexu* it is seventy days' journey on asses, and from *Camexu* to a river called the *Cara Morin* it is fifty days' journey on horses. From this river the traveller may go to *Cassai* to dispose of his silver there, as it is an excellent station for the expeditious sale of merchandise: and from *Cassai* he may go in thirty days to *Gamalecco*, the capital of China. The current money there is made of paper, and is called *Babissi*: four of these *babissi* are equal to one silver *Soumo*."

The merchants who made this journey were obliged to let their beards grow, and to take with them a good interpreter and attendants acquainted with the Tatar languages. The value of the merchandise and money which a single merchant usually brought with him amounted altogether to about twenty-five thousand golden ducats. The whole expense of the journey to Pekin, including the wages of the attendants, amounted only to three hundred or three hundred and fifty ducats. These minute details are sufficient to make it evident that the

journey over Asia to Pekin was much more easy in the fourteenth century than at the present day, and that it was not by any means a thing uncommon. In consequence, the knowledge of those countries was in many respects more perfect in that age than it is at present; but, unfortunately, the want of astronomical observations renders the details furnished by the itineraries of the early merchants too inexact to be of much value to geography. Some of the places, however, which are named by Pegoletti, may be determined with tolerable certainty.

Gintarchan is our Astracan. Josephat Barbaro, who travelled from Tana into Persia in the fifteenth century, calls it by that name. Spices and silk arrived there, to be afterwards transported to Tana. It was also called Citracan. Both these names seem to be formed by corruption from the Arabic name Hadgi Tarkan.

Sara, the second station of our traveller, was Saraï, the chief town of the territories of the khan of Kipjack. It was built in 1266 by the khan Baraka, and was situated on the river Actuba, that falls into the Volga above Astracan. It was destroyed by Tamerlane in 1403. In the seventeenth century, the stones found strewed in the ruins of Saraï were made use of to fortify the rising city of Astracan.

Saracano or Sarachick is also in ruins. In 1238, when it was visited by the Franciscan monk Paschalis, it was a flourishing city. It was still existing in 1558, when Jenkinson travelled from Astracan to Bokhara: he reckoned its distance from the former city to be a journey of ten days. It was at that time frequented by the caravans going from Astracan to China. This city of the Nogais Tatars, formerly rich and populous, stretched along the borders of the river Jaik, where the ruins or traces of its old fortifications are still to be seen extending several miles.

Organci or Urgenz, the capital of Chowaresm or Chorasm, was about half a mile distant from the river Gihon: Orientals call it also *Jorzanyah* and *Gurgandzi.*

This very ancient city suffered severely from an earthquake which took place in the year 818, and which destroyed many other towns situated near the Gihon.

In 1558, Jenkinson, after leaving Sarachick, passed through Urgenz, which was at that time a miserable little place: the route to China still lay through it; but it had been sacked and ruined four times in the course of seven years. Two English travellers visited it again in 1740; but of the ancient city there existed then but a single mosque, and savage Tatars were turning over the ruins in search of hidden treasures.

From Urgenz the travellers turned northward to arrive at Oltrarra or Otrar, which bears also the name of Farab: it is said by Mandeville to be the best city in Turkestan. Here the Itinerary of Pegoletti leaves us in the dark with respect to the countries which are the least known in Asia, as he conducts us at once across Turkestan to Armalecco or Almalech, a city situated in the country of the Igur, on the river Ab-Eile or Ili, between Dashcand and the river Irtish. It was taken by Tamerlane in 1400. Paschalis, who resided in it in 1338, calls it the capital of the Medes. Again, the Itinerary makes a rapid step, and conducts us directly to Camexu in Tangut, not far from the great wall of China. Some suppose this place to be the city of Kancheu, through which the ambassadors of shah Rokh passed in 1419, on their journey from Herat to Pekin. But it would agree better with the distances assigned, to suppose Camexu to be the city of Hami or Cami, on the northern frontiers of Tangut.

It is still more difficult to ascertain the position of the city called Cassai by Pegoletti: it is generally supposed to be some *Kin-sai* or *celestial city*, of which, probably, there were many within the limits of the Chinese empire. The city of *Gamalecco*, which occurs next in the Itinerary, is undoubtedly *Khan-balikh* or Pekin, the word being modified to suit the genius of Italian pronunciation.

All the early travellers in China, and even the Arabians

who visited that country in the ninth century, take notice of the paper money that circulated there. Marco Polo describes minutely the appearance of these notes, which were made of the fine bark of the mulberry. They are called by Pegoletti *balissi*: Oderic of Portenau names them *balis*; and they are called *falus* by the early Arabian travellers. So many independent and concurring testimonies establish beyond a doubt the ancient employment of paper money in China, which has been strenuously denied, however, by some well-instructed moderns. The abuses likely to follow the adoption of such a currency under a despotic government, probably caused it to be occasionally discontinued, and at length forgotten.

Among those who were impelled by religion to travel in the East was a Minorite friar, Oderic, of Portenau in the Friul, who passed through every country of Asia, from the shores of the Black Sea to the extremities of China. He is supposed to have set out on his travels in 1318, and to have returned to Italy in 1330, when he dictated his narrative to William de Solana at Padua, without any order or arrangement, but just as it occurred to his memory. He died in 1331; and having wrought miracles in his life-time (at least he himself said so), he was canonized in the beginning of the last century.

Oderic added but little to the knowledge obtained by his predecessors in the East. His relations are wonderfully confused and obscure; and although he may not have intended to impose on the world with deliberate fictions, yet the extraordinary credulity and superstitious weakness apparent in his character render it impossible to place much confidence in what he says. It is not worth while to examine into the veracity of one who is so often the dupe of his own misconceptions.

From Constantinople friar Oderic went to Trebizond, where "he saw a strange spectacle with great delight." A man led about with him more than four thousand partridges. As he walked along the partridges flew about him in the air, and followed him wherever he went.

They were so tame, that when he lay down to rest they all came flocking about him like so many chickens. Oderic then proceeded to *Azaron* or Erzerum, a remarkably cold place, he observes, and said to be situated at a greater elevation than any other city in the world. He passed by Mount Ararat, and was extremely desirous to climb its summit in order to view the traces of Noah's ark remaining there; but his companions prevented him, alleging the impossibility of his succeeding in the attempt. Tauris or Tebriz appeared to him to be a commercial city of the first importance. Near to it was a hill of salt, from which any one might take as much as he pleased without paying any tax or duty. It was said that the king of Persia derived as much revenue from this city alone as the king of France from his whole dominions. The road to India lay through *Cassan* or Casbin, the city of the three wise men. The city of Yezd abounded in every luxury: grapes, figs, and raisins, appeared to be more plentiful there than in any other part of the world; but the Saracens affirmed that no Christian could live there above a year.

Our monk passed, he says, "beside the Tower of Babel," but he omits to give any account of that remarkable structure. The men of Chaldea had their hair nicely braided and trimmed like the women of Italy, wearing turbans richly ornamented with gold and pearls, and were a fine looking people; but the women were ugly and deformed, clad in coarse linen shifts reaching only as far as the knees, with long sleeves hanging down to the ground, and trowsers which likewise reached the ground, but their feet were bare. They wore no head-dresses, and their hair hung loose and dishevelled about their ears. At the time when Oderic reached what he calls *Lower India*, or the southern provinces of Persia, that country had been just over-run and laid waste by the Tatars; yet still the productions of nature were in abundance. The people subsisted chiefly on dates, of which forty-two pounds' weight might be purchased for less than a Venetian groat. From Ormuz he embarked for

Thana, perhaps Tatta, at the mouth of the Indus, where some heavy calamities befell him. "In this country," he says, "every one has a bundle of great boughs of trees as large as a pillar, standing in a pot of water before his door; and there are many other strange and wonderful novelties, a relation of which would be exceedingly delightful."

In Thana, a little before Oderic's arrival there, four Minorite friars had suffered martyrdom. Being summoned as witnesses before the cadi, they commenced a disputation with the Mahometans upon the true faith; and friar Thomas being urged to declare freely his opinion concerning Mahomet, replied in plain language, "I must declare that your Mahomet is the son of perdition, and is in hell with his father, the devil." When the Saracens heard this insulting blasphemy, they insisted on putting the infidels to death. They seized upon the friars and exposed them to the burning sun, in order that they might perish by a lingering torture; but they "remained hale and joyful from the third to the ninth hour of the day." The Saracens, astonished at this, kindled a great fire in the public square of the city, into which they threw one of the friars, but when the flames had died away, he was seen standing in the embers unhurt and joyful, with his hands extended in the form of a cross, and calling on the glorious Virgin. Notwithstanding this manifest miracle, the Saracens remained unshaken in their purpose; and the cadi said that the friar's tunic, which was made from the wool of the land of Habrah, having protected him, it would be necessary to throw him naked into the fire. Brother James, therefore, upon whom the previous experiment had been made so unsuccessfully, was stript quite naked, anointed abundantly with oil, and thrown a second time into the flames: but he again came forth from them unharmed; whereupon the friars were liberated, to appease the people. At night, however, the Saracens, more inexorable than the flames, came privately to their lodgings, and cut off their heads. "In the moment of the martyrdom of these

holy men," says the worthy Oderic, "the moon shone out with unusual splendour, and the night became so exceedingly light that all admired greatly: after which it suddenly became excessively dark, with great thunder and lightning, and violent commotions, so that all expected to be destroyed; and the ship which ought to have carried away the friars was sunk, with all on board: no tidings of it were ever received afterwards."

When Oderic heard of the circumstances attending the death of these martyrs, he went to the place where they were buried, and dug up their bones. This was an event of great importance in the history of his life, as he probably owes to these bones his rank in the calendar of saints. While travelling in Upper India, he rested one night in a house which was suddenly set fire to by the persecuting Saracens; but the flames carefully kept aloof from the bones of the martyrs, and the life of our friar was saved by means of those precious relics. "So long as I remained in the corner with the bones, the fire kept itself above my head like lucid air; but the moment that I went out with the bones, the place where I had been standing was enveloped in the flames, and the whole building was consumed."

But he afterwards found that the bones of the martyrs had not only a power over the flames, but also over wind and water. While going by sea to the city of *Polumbrum*, in Malabar, he had an opportunity of trying their efficacy on this element The wind totally failed, and the vessel in which he sailed made no progress. The idolaters on board offered up their prayers for a favourable wind, but in vain: the Saracens next prostrated themselves to the same intent, and with as little profit. Then Oderic and his companion were ordered to pray; and it was moreover intimated to them, that if they failed to procure a good wind they should be thrown overboard. Our friar accordingly began to pray, and vowed to celebrate many masses in honour of the Virgin if she would vouchsafe a wind; but as the time passed on and no wind came, he took one of the bones, and going to

the head of the ship he cast it into the sea: a fine breeze immediately sprung up, and continued to the end of the voyage. The idolaters afterwards, according to their custom, searched the whole ship in order to throw overboard all the bones of dead animals before they entered the harbour; but though they frequently approached and even touched the bones of the martyrs, their eyes were always deluded: the relics were thus saved from the unfathomed depths of the ocean, to work healing miracles on land; for a small quantity of the dust of these bones mixed with water was, as Oderic affirms, a sovereign remedy for every disease.

Notwithstanding all the miracles which he performed on the way, our traveller merits little attention previous to his arrival at the coast of Malabar, which he calls *Minibar*. He also mentions two cities in this country, *Flandrina* and *Cyncilin*, of which no notice occurs in any other writer. In the country of Malabar, according to his description, pepper grows abundantly in a forest that extends eighteen days' journey in circuit. The plant producing the pepper is set near the large trees, as vines are planted in Italy: it grows with numerous and bright-coloured leaves, and climbs up the trees, the pepper-pods hanging down in great clusters like grapes. Crocodiles and huge serpents infest this forest; and in the season for gathering the pepper, the people are obliged to make large fires of straw and other dry fuel to drive away these noxious animals. At one extremity of this forest was situated the city of *Polumbrum*.

Oderic gives, in many respects, a more full and accurate account of the singular superstitions of the Hindoos than any traveller who had preceded him. He observed the veneration in which the ox is held, which is made to labour in husbandry for six years, and in the seventh is consecrated as holy, and worshipped as a god; the custom of widows burning themselves along with the dead bodies of their husbands; and the abstinence of the male sex from wine. The general infatuation of self-sacrifice and the ceremonies of the Jaggernaut are

described by him with the vividness of an eye-witness. "In the kingdom of Moabar" (the Carnatic), he says, "there is a wonderful idol, in the shape of a man, all of pure and polished gold, as large as our image of Saint Christopher, and there hangs about its neck a string of most rich and precious stones, some of which are singly more valuable than the riches of an entire kingdom. The whole house in which this idol is preserved is all of beaten gold; even the roof, the pavement, and the lining of the walls both within and without. The Indians go on pilgrimages to this idol, just as we do to the image of Saint Peter; some having halters round their necks, some with their hands bound behind their backs, and others with knives sticking in various parts of their legs and arms; and if the flesh of their wounded limbs should corrupt owing to these wounds, they believe that their god is well pleased with them, and ever after esteem the diseased limb as sacred. Near this idol temple there is an artificial lake of water in an open place, into which the pilgrims and devotees cast gold and silver and precious stones in honour of the idol, and as a fund for repairing the temple; and when any new ornament is to be made, or any repairs required, the priests take what is wanted from the oblations thrown into this lake.

"At each annual festival of this idol, the king and queen of the country, with all the pilgrims and the whole multitude of the people, assemble at the temple; and placing the idol on a rich and splendid chariot, they carry it to the temple with songs and all kinds of musical instruments, having a great company of young women, who walk in procession two and two, singing before the idol. Many of the pilgrims throw themselves under the chariot wheels, that they may be crushed to death in honour of their god; and the bodies of these devotees are afterwards burned, and their ashes collected, as if they were holy martyrs. In this manner above five hundred persons annually devote themselves to death. Sometimes a man deliberately devotes himself to die in

honour of this abominable idol: on which occasion, accompanied by his relations and friends, and a great company of musicians, he makes a solemn feast; after which he hangs five sharp knives round his neck, and goes in solemn procession before the idol; he then takes four of the knives successively, and with each of them cuts off a piece of his own flesh, which he throws to the idol, saying that for the worship of his god he thus cuts himself. Then taking the fifth knife, he declares aloud that he is going to put himself to death in honour of the god, in uttering which he gives the fatal stroke. His body is then burned with great solemnity, and he is ever after esteemed a holy person."

Travelling from Moabar fifty days towards the south, along the ocean, our friar came to a country called *Lamouri*, in which all the people went naked, pleading in excuse the example of Adam and Eve. This country is supposed to be the southern part of the peninsula near Cape Comorin; but in truth there is much reason to suspect that the monk's memory failed him, and that he confounded the south of India with *Lamri*, in Sumatra. "Human flesh," he says, "is commonly used in this country as beef is with us; and though the manners and customs of the people are most abominable, the country is excellent, and abounds in flesh and corn, gold and silver, aloes wood and camphor, and many other precious commodities. Merchants who trade to this country usually bring with them fat men among their other commodities, which they sell to the natives as we do hogs, and these are immediately slain and devoured."

To the south of *Lamouri*, Oderic places the island or kingdom of *Symolora*, by which he appears to mean *Simoltra* or Sumatra. In this place the people were accustomed to mark their faces with hot irons. He then visited the island of Java, which he says is considered one of the largest islands in the world, and that it abounds in cloves, nutmegs, and other kinds of spices. The king of Java, he moreover affirms, had the most sumptuous and lofty palace in the world, with broad

stairs conducting to the upper apartments, all the steps being alternately of gold and silver. The whole interior was lined with plates of beaten gold, on which were carved the figures of warriors, each having above his head a coronet of beaten gold; the roof of the palace likewise was of pure gold, and the lower apartments were all paved with alternate squares of gold and silver. When the credulous friar makes statements of this sort, he usually confirms his relation with an oath, and adds that he omits to speak of things far more wonderful, but which could hardly be credited by those who had not seen them. The great khan or emperor of China, he says, had often made war upon the king of Java, but had always been defeated and beaten back. It seems probable that Oderic mixed with his account of Java the stories which he had heard regarding the wars and prodigious riches of Japan.

Our friar took notice of the trees producing meal, or the sago palms; he mentions likewise another particular relating to the vegetable kingdom, which, however it may have the air of improbability, is nevertheless true. In the Indian seas, he relates, there grow canes of incredible size, some of them running up sixty paces or more in height. There are also small canes called *cassan*, which spread over the earth like grass to the extent of a mile or more, sending up branches from every knot; and in these canes are found certain stones of a wonderful virtue, insomuch that whoever carries one of them about him cannot be wounded with an iron weapon. The people cause the arms of their children to be cut open when young, and put one of these stones into the wound, which they heal with the powder of a certain fish. By means of these wonderful stones, continues our friar, the natives are always victorious in their battles. Now it is unquestionably true, that stones formed of pure silex or flint are often found secreted near the joints of canes; and as the ignorant are always disposed to view with veneration every thing anomalous in nature, these stones are generally believed to possess extraordinary virtues.

Of the seas in those climates, he relates that they abound so much in fish that nothing can be seen to some distance from the shore but the backs of fishes. The fish come themselves upon the shore, and for three days allow the people to take as many of them as they please. At the end of those three days this shoal returns to sea, and a different kind comes to the spot in the same manner and for an equal time. This happens, he says, once every year; and the people pretend that the fish are taught by nature to do this in token of homage to the emperor. This account is in all material points perfectly true: the seas of the Indian Archipelago abound more in fish than any other part of the world; and it is said that the inhabitants of Java have the art of taming them to such a degree, that they come to the shore in obedience to a call or whistle.

The pious Oderic proceeded next to China; a country containing, as he heard, more than two thousand great cities. The people, he was surprised to find, were all artificers or merchants, and never thought of begging alms, however great might be their poverty, so long as they could help themselves with their hands. The men were of a fair and comely appearance, though somewhat pale; but the women appeared to him to be the most beautiful under the sun. It is remarkable that all the early travellers agree in praising the beauty of the Chinese, and but seldom notice even the peculiarities of the Mongolian features. Oderic is the first who points out two very distinguishing characteristics of Chinese beauty. "It is accounted," he says, "a great grace for the men of this country to have long nails upon their fingers, which they fold about their hands: but the grace and beauty of their women is to have small and slender feet; and therefore the mothers, when the daughters are young, do bind up their feet that they may not grow large."

He also gives a description of a mode of fishing practised in China, which is but little known in other parts of the world. In a city where he lodged for a short time, his host, willing to amuse him, conducted

him to the river side. This man took with him also three large baskets, and a number of diving birds tied to poles. He began his preparations by fastening a thread round the throats of the birds, lest they might swallow the fish which they caught: he then loosed them from the poles; and in less than an hour they caught as much fish as filled the three baskets.

In the city of Zaitun the Minorites possessed two monasteries; and in one of these Oderic deposited the bones of the friars who had suffered martyrdom in India. Zaitun appeared to him to be twice as large as Bologna: it contained numerous monasteries or religious houses belonging to the worshippers of idols. The religious inhabitants of those establishments fed their idols daily, serving up before them sumptuous banquets smoking hot: the gods were permitted to regale themselves with the steam of the savoury viands, which were afterwards carried away and eaten by the priests.

Friar Oderic resided three years in Pekin, where the Minorite friars had a monastery depending on the court. He was frequently present at the royal banquets; the Christian priests, as well as those of the heathen, being obliged, on those occasions, to pronounce benedictions on the emperor according to their peculiar forms. His account of the magnificence of the court of Cambalu does not in any respect fall short of the more authentic narrative of Marco Polo. The friars in those parts were endowed with special gifts; they cast out evil spirits, and could even exorcise the idols themselves: they at first failed in the latter experiment; but as soon as they sprinkled the fire with holy water, the idols were consumed, and the devils fled away in the likeness of black smoke, crying out aloud, "Behold how I am expelled from my habitation!" But among the fables which our worthy friar has incorporated with his narrative, that of the valley of the dead is perhaps the most curious and original, and may be safely looked upon as the corrupted version of a popular Chinese tale. "Passing by a certain valley," says Oderic, "near a pleasant river, I

saw many dead bodies therein, and I heard issuing therefrom many sweet and harmonious musical sounds, especially of lutes, insomuch that I was much amazed. The valley is at least eight miles long; and whoever enters into it is sure to die immediately; for which reason all who travel that way carefully avoid the valley. But I was curious to go in, that I might see what it contained. Making, therefore, my prayers, and recommending myself to God, I entered in, and saw such quantities of dead bodies as no one would believe unless he had seen it with his own eyes. At one side of the valley I saw the visage of a man upon a stone, which stared at me with such a hideous aspect, that I thought I should have died upon the spot: but I ceased not to sign myself with the sign of the cross, crying continually, 'The word became flesh, and dwelt with us.' I then saw the lutes on every side, which do sound of themselves in a wonderful manner without the aid of any musician. Thus much have I related, which I certainly saw with my own eyes; but many wonderful things have I purposely omitted, because those who had not seen them would refuse to believe my testimony." For stories such as this Oderic was canonized in the eighteenth century. After leaving China, he visited Thibet, and is the first writer who alludes to the grand lama, — "the pope of the East, and spiritual head of all the idolaters." To this great prince of the Buddhists he gives the name of Abassi. Like almost all the early travellers, he mentions the cannibalism of the Thibetians, which he regards as a superstitious usage.

The ignorance of his age and the credulity of his profession betrayed Oderic into the relation of many incredible stories; but that he actually visited the countries which he describes may be proved incontestibly from many passages in his narrative. The same cannot be said of a contemporary traveller of much greater pretensions, and at one time much more generally read,—the celebrated Sir John Mandeville, the author of the most unblushing volume of lies, perhaps, that was

ever offered to the world. Sir John was born at St. Alban's; and after laying in a large store of theological and medical knowledge, set forth on his peregrinations in 1332. He spent thirty-four years in wandering through the East, as he affirms, visiting every country that had any claims on the wonder or curiosity of mankind. He died at Liege in the year 1372, where a laudatory inscription was placed upon his tomb, and the boots and spurs with which he rode through the world were long carefully preserved.

A rebel to the laws of true chivalry, which commanded the worthy knight to wage war with the infidels, Sir J. Mandeville served first in the armies of the sultan of Egypt, and afterwards under the banners of the grand khan of Cathay in his wars with the kings of Manji. Such, at least, is his own account, which, however, appears not to deserve the slightest credit. He may possibly have travelled in Palestine and Syria, but his work offers abundant proofs that he never penetrated farther into Asia. He avows himself that he borrowed much from old chronicles and romances of chivalry, and he copies whole pages without acknowledgment from friar Oderic and Haitho the Armenian: but he seldom relates the fabulous tales of his predecessors without giving to them some additional embellishments; and whenever he affects extreme accuracy, he is sure to expose the grossest ignorance. Thus he says that India is fifty days' journey beyond Pekin, and laments that the journey to that country should be so long and difficult compared with that to China. Oderic of Portenau spoke of a sea of sand,—no unfit expression to describe the sandy deserts on the borders of Persia; but Sir John Mandeville, not satisfied with a sea of sand, describes also a river of rocks flowing into it; and he even ventures to assert that this wondrous sea abounds in excellent fish. He alone actually travelled through the country of the Pigmies, who all came dancing to see him. He also visited two islands in the centre of Asia, one of which was inhabited by giants thirty feet in height,

while the elder branches of the family dwelling on the other island were twenty feet higher. In India he places two islands, called respectively Brahmin and Gymnosophist. He is the first who writes of the famous lamb of Tatary, that grows inside a gourd or melon. "When the fruit is ripe," says the worthy knight, "it opens in the middle, and in the interior is seen the little animal, with flesh, bones, and blood. It is like a lamb without the wool, and is eaten with the fruit." In the course of his travels he saw many curiosities of the same kind, and among others, shells of so vast a size as to afford habitations for many persons. He also learned from experience, that diamonds, if wetted with May-dew, will, in the course of years, grow to an indefinite magnitude. The hints which he borrowed from romances of chivalry are scattered through his volume with little art or discrimination; and it was on the walls of the king's palace in Java that he saw painted the exploits of duke Oger the Dane.

Early travellers had spread abroad some indistinct rumours of Prester John, a Christian prince supposed to reign somewhere in the heart of Asia; but Mandeville alone had the happiness to see him seated on his throne, surrounded by twelve archbishops and two hundred and twenty bishops. The empire of this prince was in India, "a land divided into many islands by the rivers descending from paradise." The gates of his palace were made of sardonyx, the bars of ivory, the windows of rock crystal, and the tables of emeralds; radiant carbuncles, too, each a foot in length, served instead of lamps to illuminate the palace by night. Such were the tales which pleased our ancestors of the fourteenth century. Mandeville also confirms the popular belief that Jerusalem is in the middle of the world; for sticking his spear upright in the ground, he found that at midday, at the time of the equinoxes, it cast no shadow.

CHAP. VIII.

EMBASSY OF CLAVIJO.

CLAVIJO APPOINTED AMBASSADOR TO THE COURT OF TIMUR. — JOURNEY THROUGH ARMENIA. — CALMARIN. — TEBRIZ. — DESTRUCTION OF THE PALACE. — PRIVILEGES OF THE GENOESE. — SULTANIA. — COMMERCIAL ROUTE. — DOMGHAUN. — TOWERS BUILT OF HUMAN SKULLS. — TATAR MODE OF POSTING. — AMBASSADORS INTRODUCED. — THE FESTIVALS AT COURT. — SAMARCAND. — HOW PEOPLED. — ITS TRADE. — DEPARTURE OF THE EMBASSY. — DEATH OF TIMUR. — SCHILDTBERGER TAKEN PRISONER BY THE TURKS, AND SUBSEQUENTLY BY THE TATARS. — HIS WANDERINGS. — EXPEDITION TO ISSIBUR. — SHAH ROKH SENDS AMBASSADORS TO CHINA. — JOURNEY THROUGH THE DESERT. — CIVILISATION OF THE CHINESE. — TELEGRAPHS IN CHINA. — TURNING TOWERS. — THE IMPERIAL COURT. — MUSICAL SKILL. — DISMISSAL OF THE EMBASSY.

A DISPOSITION to indulge in the marvellous is conspicuous in the narratives of all the earliest travellers; but already in the beginning of the fifteenth century a better taste began to appear. Among the well-informed and veracious travellers of this period, the Spaniard, Ruy-Gonzales de Clavijo is the most distinguished. The fame of Timur's conquests being spread abroad through every part of Europe, induced Henry III. king of Castile to send ambassadors to the khan, with instructions to pay their respects to him in the heart of his dominions. The real object of the embassy, however, was to learn the manners and the strength of the nations inhabiting the interior of Asia, to observe the situation of the conquered, and the character of the conqueror. In consequence of this determination, two noblemen of the court, Pelajo de Sotomayor and Ferdinand de Palazuelas, set out for the Levant in 1393, arrived at the camp of Timur before his victory over Bajazet, and witnessed the total overthrow of the Turkish army. The conqueror dismissed the Spaniards loaded with

presents, and sent an embassage along with them as an additional honour to the king of Castile.

The success of this first step towards a correspondence encouraged Henry to send a second embassy to Tamerlane in 1403; at the head of this was Clavijo, who returned to Spain in 1406, and wrote an account of the reception he had met with at Samarcand, and of all that he observed in the various countries through which he passed.

He remained some time at Constantinople, which he describes as being still a great city eight miles in circumference; it was not, however, by any means populous. It contained, he says, three thousand churches, all rich in the relics of saints and martyrs. After a tedious voyage in the Black Sea, he arrived in 1404 at Trebizond, where the Genoese and Venetians occupied each a fort or castle. The embassy crossed Armenia, the north of Persia, and Khorasan: it often passed the night in the midst of deserts, or else in the tents of a wandering horde called by Clavijo *Chacatais*. At *Arsigna*, or Erzerum, the embassy was received with the highest honours; and after being feasted for several days, was provided with every thing necessary to complete the journey. Proceeding eastward they crossed the river Corras; and within seven or eight leagues of Mount Ararat they reached *Calmarin*, a great and fortified city, which the Spanish ambassadors were taught to believe was the first city founded after the flood.

At *Hoy*, or Choi, on the borders of Persia and Armenia, Clavijo met the ambassador of the sultan of Bagdad, also on his way to the court of Timur, and who carried with him a variety of curious and valuable presents: among these was a beast which filled the Spaniards with admiration and surprise; it had the body of a horse, and the head of a stag; but it was chiefly remarkable for the extraordinary length of its fore legs and of its neck, each of which measured sixteen palms; so that when it carried its head erect it was quite a prodigy: it could with the greatest ease browse on the leaves of the loftiest trees. This animal Clavijo calls a *jornufa*; and his description points

out distinctly the giraffe or camelopard, an inhabitant of central Africa, and consequently a curiosity in the centre of Asia.

Tauris or Tebriz is described by Clavijo as a great commercial city, containing no less than two hundred thousand houses, although in a state of decline. It contained many superb edifices; and a little before his arrival it boasted of one of the most splendid palaces of the East, which was said to have contained twenty thousand apartments ; but this was now in ruins. Timur had entrusted the government of this part of Persia to his eldest son, Miassa Miraxa, a weak and headstrong prince, who knew no other mode of distinguishing himself but by destroying what it had been the ambition of others to erect. He consequently levelled all the fine palaces that were in the countries subjected to his authority, and had just completed the work of destruction in Tebriz, having reduced to ruins the vast edifice above alluded to, when he learned that Timur was marching rapidly towards him to put him to death. Knowing that escape was impossible, he hastened to meet his enraged father and to beg forgiveness at his feet: at the entreaty of his friends his life was spared ; but Timur stripped him of all rank and authority, and compelled him to live in a private station.

In Tauris the Genoese enjoyed great commercial privileges: they were, in fact, established there as a commercial colony that directed the trade between Europe and the Indies with all the advantages of an intermediate position. The Genoese, it appears, had once obtained permission to build a castle here ; but the king soon after repented of his concession, and represented to them that he deemed it inconsistent with the character of merchants to erect fortifications or to assume in any way a military posture. When his remonstrances failed to move them, he declared that if they persisted in their attempt he would cut off their heads ; an argument of so cogent a nature, that the merchants immediately abandoned their design.

From Tauris Clavijo proceeded to Sultania, which, though inferior to the former city in size and population, carried on a still more lively trade. Every year, between the months of June and August, caravans arrived here from India; others come from Yezd and Serpi; and cotton stuffs of all colours were brought hither from Khorasan. Pearls and precious stones came a journey of sixty days from Ormuz, to which place, according to Clavijo, the merchants of Cathay brought fine rubies and jewels of various descriptions. The caravans from India were laden with valuable spices, cloves, mace, and nutmegs, the best market for which was at Sultania. Clavijo is the first, or perhaps the only, writer, who points out this line of communication between India and Europe. It was not followed, probably, until after the destruction of Bagdad by the Mongols; and it would appear that Sultania did not continue the seat of this flourishing trade long after the time of Clavijo; for the travellers who passed through that city towards the end of the fifteenth century observed that it had nothing remarkable but the minarets of a mosque, which were made of metal, and wrought with much curious delicacy of workmanship.

Passing through the north of Persia, the embassy at length arrived at *Damogen*, or Domghaun, at that time the military capital of the kingdom. Here they saw a monument of a new and terrific character: the market-place was ornamented with four great towers, each a stone's throw in height, and built entirely of human skulls, the interstices being filled up with mud. To erect this edifice Timur had massacred sixty thousand Turkomans, or white Tatars, as they were called, who, after being vanquished in the field, were cruelly hunted down and nearly exterminated by the relentless victor. After leaving this place, the ambassadors experienced the distressing effects of the hot winds of the desert; and on arriving at a city called *Vascal* they were not allowed a moment's respite to refresh themselves, but were obliged to proceed immediately on their journey; such being the will of the dreaded Timur.

At a place called *Jagero*, a little farther on, they had an opportunity of observing the system of posts as established by Timur. At the distance of a day's journey from each other were erected caravanserais large enough to contain from one to two hundred horses: here the couriers employed in the service of the emperor left their own horses and were supplied with fresh ones. They were invested with full powers to seize the horses of all whom they met, and to use all coercive measures that tended in the slightest degree to hasten their despatch.

Having at length reached Samarcand, Clavijo, after some ceremonious delay, was admitted to the presence of the emperor. He found Timur seated on cushions of embroidered silk, with his elbows supported by pillows, and a fountain of water playing before him: the Spanish ambassador was led in by nobles of the court, who instructed him how to bend the knee and perform the other requisite obeisances. As often as they kneeled, they approached still closer to the emperor, who obliged Clavijo and his companions to come in this way within a very short distance of him, apparently from a desire to gratify his curiosity with a near view of the Spaniards, for his eyes were now nearly closed, and his eye-lashes had fallen off from age.

The embassy was well received, and Clavijo had an opportunity of witnessing the rude profusion of Tatar hospitality: he describes, indeed, with an admiration that runs too often into a tedious prolixity, the festivals celebrated on his account at the imperial court. The guests, on those occasions, were sumptuously regaled with horse-flesh boiled and roasted, with mutton and rice dressed in a variety of ways. The roasted carcasses of sheep and horses were carried from the kitchens on the backs of camels to those whose duty it was to carve them: the boiled meat was in immense leathern bags, which were dragged with great labour into the banquetting rooms; the bags were then ripped up, and the viands soon cut to pieces by the attendants. All that was served on the tables was supposed to belong to the guests,

whose servants were accordingly at liberty to carry off whatever remained; and the supplies were so inordinately copious, that if the servants of Clavijo had thought fit to make use of their privilege, they might have gathered from the relics of a single feast sufficient provision for half a year. Wine was produced only on rare occasions, and by the express permission of the emperor; it was then supplied in abundance; and it appears to have been considered a proof of loyalty as well as of good breeding to drink it as freely as it was served. Servants were in attendance, whose sole business it was to fill the cups; and those who pretended to drink in honour of the emperor were expected to drain off their bumpers at a single draught. Clavijo was present at feasts given by two ladies, the principal wife and the daughter-in-law of the emperor; and on these occasions the wine was poured forth with unusual spirit, the ladies themselves setting the example of Bacchanalian conviviality, and repeatedly emptying their cups in honour of their guests. He who could drink most at those feasts was honoured with the title of *Bahidar.*

Timur changed his residence frequently while the embassy was at his court; and every new palace visited by Clavijo surpassed in magnificence the preceding one. But the most imposing display of the imperial grandeur was made at the *orda*, horde or tent, when Timur and his nobility pitched their tents in a vast plain to the number of twenty thousand. Some of these tents were hung with silk and with gold tissues, adorned with pearls, rubies, and precious stones. In those of the emperor were tables made of gold; and all the utensils were made of gold, silver, or the finest porcelain.

Samarcand appeared to Clavijo to be not much greater than Seville, but infinitely more populous: its suburbs, including many gardens and large vineyards, extended a great distance in every direction. Timur had brought thither by force a hundred and fifty thousand souls from the conquered countries, selecting always the most skilful artisans of every description: he issued commands,

moreover, to all his officers to seize all destitute and houseless persons, and to send them to his capital, which he intended to make the greatest city of the East. The houses of Samarcand were so inadequate to lodge the immense population collected by these despotic measures, that many of the poorer sort were obliged to find a shelter in caves or temporary huts among the suburbs. But as the wretched people who had been thus compelled by the tyrant to leave their homes, and take up their abode in Samarcand, were repeatedly making efforts to escape, the passes of the river Gihon, or Oxus, were all strictly guarded, and no one was allowed to cross the great bridge of boats without the permission of the emperor.

A great trade was still carried on at Samarcand notwithstanding the wars and revolutions which had lately desolated the surrounding country. The Tatars and Russians brought thither skins, furs, and cloth; silk stuffs, musk, pearls, precious stones, and rhubarb, came from China. It was a six months' journey from Samarcand to Cambalu or Pekin, two whole months being employed in crossing the deserts. Caravans from India also arrived there, bringing the fine spices, such as cloves, mace, and nutmeg; and Clavijo here repeats an observation which he had made before at Sultania, that spices of this description were not to be found in the markets of Alexandria.

After several months spent in festivities in Samarcand, a day was at length appointed by Timur, on which the ambassadors were to receive their answer and permission to depart. When the day came, however, they were informed that the emperor was unwell, and unable to receive them; on a second visit they met with a similar intimation; when they made the third attempt to gain an audience, they were told by the officers of the court that the time was come for their departure, and that the preparations for their journey were completed. Clavijo, however, determined not to quit Samarcand before he had taken leave with the usual formalities;

nor, although assured that the emperor was on the point of death, could the punctilious Spaniard be brought to change his resolution until he received from the principal officers an order to depart, couched in such peremptory language as left no room for deliberation. He accordingly set out; and on his arrival at Tebriz learned that Timur was dead, and that his children and grandchildren were furiously contending with one another for the possession of the empire. He himself experienced here the sad consequences of this distracted state of affairs, being robbed of all his effects, and kept for some months in close confinement. At length Omar Miraz, a grandson of Timur, obtaining the government of Persia, liberated the ambassadors, restored them their property, and gave them passports, with which they reached Europe in safety.

Among those who travelled over Asia in the fifteenth century was a German soldier, named Schildtberger, who is much more distinguished for the variety of his fortunes than for the knowledge which he acquired during his residence in the East. He enlisted, when young, in the army of Sigismund, king of Hungary, and in 1395 was taken prisoner by the Turks: he saw some thousands of his fellow-prisoners butchered before his eyes in the Turkish camp, and was himself about to be decapitated, when his youthful appearance, and the fortunate circumstance of his being left among the last, when the conqueror's thirst for blood was nearly sated, combined to save his life. He afterwards accompanied the army of Bajazet into Asia; and in the great battle in which that sultan was defeated and taken captive by Timur, Schildtberger also fell into the hands of the victor. The young German attended his new master in all his expeditions, and on the death of Timur, engaged in the service of his son Shah Rokh. He subsequently experienced many changes of this sort, and among his numerous journeys he once followed into Great Tatary a prince named Zegra, who was invited by Idaker Khan to assume the sovereignty of that country.

The Tatar prince set out attended by Schildtberger and four others. Their route lay through Georgia and the other Caucasian nations, the names of which are reported by the unlettered German in so corrupted a form as to be scarcely recognisable. They at length reached Great Tatary, and the camp of Idaker Khan, who was preparing to march with all his forces into the land of *Bissibur* or *Issibur* (Siberia). In this expedition they marched forward continually for two months; and in the mean time they crossed a range of mountains thirty-two days' journey in length; and at their extremity, according to Schildtberger, there is a desert which is the end of the world, and which is uninhabitable from the number of serpents and wild beasts with which it is infested.

"These mountains," he says, "are inhabited by roaming savages, who are covered all over with hair, except on their hands and faces, and who subsist on green leaves and roots, or whatever they can procure. In this country also are found wild asses, as large as horses. The inhabitants employ dogs, as large as asses, to draw carts and sledges, and sometimes feed upon them. They are Christians, and bury their young people who die in celibacy with music and rejoicing, eating and drinking at their graves." Having made a conquest of *Bissibur*, the Tatars marched into *Walor* or Bulgar, which they also subdued, and then returned to Kipjack. His master Zegra being dead, Schildtberger wandered into Mingrelia, and there learning that the Black Sea was distant but a three days' journey, he contrived, without a guide, to reach the shore. After wandering here four days, he at length saw a European ship about three leagues off from the land. By fires and other expedients, he contrived to attract its attention, and a boat was sent ashore. Thirty years of captivity among the Turks and Tatars had so completely deprived him of his European aspect, that the mariners were slow to believe his story; and it was not until he had rehearsed the Lord's prayer, the Ave Maria, and the Creed, that

his claims were admitted, and he was taken on board. From Constantinople, whither this ship conveyed him, he returned to his native city, Munich, after an absence from home of two-and-thirty years.

In the year 1419 ambassadors were sent to China by Mirza Shah Rokh, who on the death of his father Timur had succeeded to the throne of Persia. At the head of this mission was an officer named Shadi Khoja; but in the train of the ambassadors were painters and persons instructed to keep an exact journal of their travels, and to take notice of all that was remarkable in every city and country they passed through, carefully observing the nature of the roads, the police and customs of the people, and the magnificence and mode of government of the various sovereigns. The narrative of this embassy, written by the celebrated Persian historian Emir Khond, is not so rich in geographical details as might have been expected from a mission that had so much in view the acquisition of knowledge; but a brief review of it will contribute to illustrate or complete the descriptions of China and its inhabitants, which have occurred in the preceding pages.

The ambassadors commenced their journey from Herat, the residence of Shah Rokh; and at Samarcand were joined by ambassadors from Khorasan and the surrounding provinces. Having passed through the cities of *Tashkend, Sayram,* and *Ash,* they entered the country of the Mongols. They afterwards passed a river called *Kenker,* and came into the country of *Ilduz,* possessed by the tribe of *Jel.* This land of *Ilduz* must be the high table-land of little Bokhara; for although the sun was then in the summer solstice, our ambassadors were often astonished at finding ice two inches thick in this vast desert. Hastening through the defiles of some snowy mountains, which were probably the Alaktag, they arrived at *Turkan,* where they saw a great temple, containing an idol of huge dimensions, said by the idolatrous inhabitants to be the image of *Shakmonni.* This name, as well as that of the idol *Sagomon,* observed by Marco

Polo in Ceylon, is but a corruption of *Sakya Mooni*, the ordinary Indian epithet of Buddha. While the ambassadors passed through the desert of Cobi, they saw multitudes of oxen, lions, and other wild beasts. The wild oxen which they saw, called *gau cottahs*, are of great size, and so strong that they can easily toss a man and horse into the air. Their tails are long and bushy, and are held in great estimation through all the East, where they are often carried on long poles by way of ornament or else for the purpose of driving away flies.

When the ambassadors and their train had arrived within fourteen days' journey of Socheu, the first town in China, the Cathayans or Chinese came out daily to meet them, erecting in the desert for their accommodation tents or huts adorned with green boughs, and supplying them abundantly with fowls, fruits, and other provisions, all served on porcelain or China dishes, together with a variety of strong liquors; and from that time forward they were as splendidly regaled in the desert as they could have been in the richest cities of Cathay.

Before the expedition entered within the boundaries of China, a list was made of all the individuals who composed it: they were found to amount in all to eight hundred and sixty persons. In this number were included several merchants, who represented themselves as belonging to the retinue of the ambassadors, and were afterwards obliged, in consequence, to perform the services which fell to their lot according as they were registered. In taking this list the Chinese officers made the ambassadors swear that there were no other persons in their train besides those whose names were returned, and warned them that they would be despised if they did not tell the truth.

At Socheu the members of the embassy were lodged in a public building over the gate of the city, where they were amply provided with every necessary and convenience, and even the servants had mattresses and coverlets allowed for their beds. This latter circumstance

appeared to the Persians a very striking novelty; for China is perhaps the only country of the East in which a stranger can be sure of finding a comfortable lodging. When they walked through the city, they saw at each step fresh proofs of the superior civilisation of the country. In several of the streets were covered galleries or halls, having shops at both sides, with a handsome saloon at the entrance adorned with pictures. The temples, too, were kept in the neatest order, their brick pavements being polished like glass. But the Mahometans also remarked that hogs were kept in every house, and what shocked them still more, that the butchers hung their pork in the same shambles with the mutton.

The Persians, as well as all the European travellers who have ever visited China, note with expressions of lively admiration the great population, industry, good order, and strict police of that extraordinary country. From Sochen to Cambalu is a ninety-five days' journey, the whole way leading through a populous country, insomuch, says the narrative, that travellers always lodge at night in a large town. Throughout the whole way there are many structures named *Kargu* and *Kidifu*. The former are a species of guard-house, sixty cubits high, erected within sight of each other, in which persons, relieved every ten days, are always on the watch. They are intended to communicate alarms speedily to the seat of government, which they do by means of fires; and intelligence can be sent in this manner, in the space of a day and night, from a distance of three months' journey. The *Kidifus* are a kind of post-houses, built at intervals of about seven miles from each other. The extensive scale on which these Chinese post-houses were supported may be conjectured from the circumstance, that at each of them our ambassadors were furnished with four hundred and fifty horses, mules, and asses, together with fifty-six chariots or waggons. The *Kargu*, or watch-towers, it is evident, closely resemble in principle the supposed modern invention of a chain of telegraphs.

In Kancheu the Persians viewed with astonishment an idol fifty feet in length, lying in a sleeping posture; its hands and feet were nine feet long, and the head measured twenty-one feet round. Behind this great idol, which was gilt all over, there were a multitude of smaller ones, so well sculptured and in such natural attitudes that they seemed to be alive. In whatever direction the ambassadors turned, their eyes were sure to be attracted by a new exhibition of Chinese art and neatness. All round the great temple were numerous recesses, or small chapels, like the chambers in caravanserais, furnished with curtains of tapestry or brocade, with gilded easy chairs or stools, chandeliers, and ornamental vases. There were ten other temples in Kancheu like the one described; but the object which occasioned the Persians most surprise was the turning tower, a sort of edifice which is frequently represented in Chinese paintings, and of which our travellers were the first to give a description. This great tower was an octagon, twenty cubits in circumference, and fifteen stories high: each story was twelve cubits high, so that the height of the tower must have been a hundred and eighty cubits. All the chambers were finely varnished, and adorned with paintings. In a vault below the edifice was an iron axis, resting on a metal plate, and reaching from the bottom to the top of the tower: "the whole so ingeniously contrived," says the Persian narrative, "that it could be easily turned round on this axis, in so surprising a manner, that all the smiths, carpenters, and painters of the world ought to go there to learn the secrets of their respective trades."

The Persians at length reached Cambalu, and were conducted to the court: they reckoned that above three hundred thousand persons were assembled round the imperial palace, of which about two thousand were musicians employed in chaunting hymns for the prosperity of the emperor. The pavilions round the palace were hung with yellow satin, decked with gilt figures, and paintings of the *simorg*, or *royal bird* of the Chinese.

The imperial throne was made of massy gold. The mandarins ranged round the apartments held tablets in their hands, which they kept their eyes fixed upon with wonderful gravity, maintaining all the time a profound silence. At length the emperor made his appearance, and ascended his throne by nine steps of silver: beautiful young females were stationed on each side of the throne, with pen and ink in their hands to write down whatever was spoken by the emperor.

When the emperor had taken his seat, the seven ambassadors were brought forward, and at the same time were presented about seven hundred criminals: some of these had chains round their necks, but the greater number had their head and hands enclosed in a board, six being frequently fastened together in the same frame. After the prisoners were dismissed, the ambassadors were led to the steps of the throne; and an officer on his knees read aloud a paper declaring the purport of the embassy, and adding, that they had brought rarities as presents to his majesty, and had come to knock their heads in the dust before him. Upon this, the ambassadors bowed after the Persian fashion, and the letters of Shah Rokh, wrapped in yellow satin, were presented to the emperor. The ceremonies being concluded, the ambassadors were conducted to the lodging provided for them, and were treated with the generous hospitality which distinguishes the Chinese court. The daily ration allowed for six persons consisted of a sheep, a goose, and two fowls, besides a great quantity of vegetables and various fruits.

At some entertainments which were afterwards given by the emperor, the ambassadors had an opportunity of witnessing the surprising skill of the Chinese jugglers and dancers. They also remarked a whimsical exhibition of dexterity in the case of two musicians, who played together the same air, each having one hand on his own flute and the other on that of his companion.

Among the presents sent by Shah Rokh to the emperor of China, was one of his favourite horses; but the aged

emperor was unable to manage this spirited animal, and received in consequence at one of his hunting parties a severe fall. His displeasure at the accident was so extremely violent, that the ambassadors had nearly atoned for it with their lives: through the solicitations, however, of the chief officers of the court, they were pardoned, and received permission to return home.

In the narrative of this embassy mention occurs of a silver currency, called *balishi*, the name formerly given, as it has been seen, to the paper money of China; it may, therefore, be concluded that this latter had ceased to circulate before the commencement of the fifteenth century. The ambassadors also enumerate *tea* among the luxuries with which they were regaled; but, like Marco Polo, they are totally silent with respect to the great wall of China.

CHAP. IX.

EARLY DISCOVERIES OF THE PORTUGUESE.

THE ITALIAN REPUBLICS.—THEIR NAVAL SUPERIORITY IN THE MIDDLE AGES.—IMPROVEMENTS IN NAUTICAL AFFAIRS.—MARINER'S COMPASS DISCOVERED.—THE CHINESE SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN ACQUAINTED WITH IT.—AND THE ARABIANS.—FIRST MENTION OF IT BY A EUROPEAN.—THE SPANIARDS IMBIBE A TASTE FOR THE LUXURIES OF THE EAST.—THEIR WARS WITH THE MOORS.—MOTIVES TO SEEK A PASSAGE BY SEA TO INDIA.—THE PORTUGUESE COMMENCE THE ATTEMPT.—DON HENRY.—DISCOVERY OF PUERTO SANTO AND MADEIRA.—STORY OF MACHAM.—THE CANARY ISLANDS COLONISED.—CAPE BOJADOR DOUBLED.—CAPTIVES RANSOMED FOR GOLD DUST.—VOYAGES OF CADA MOSTO.—THE NATIVE CANARIANS.—THE MOORS OF THE DESERT.—THE SHIPS BELIEVED TO BE SPIRITS.—THE SALT TRADE OF THE NEGROES.—THE SENEGAL.—KING BUDOMEL.—HIS RELIGIOUS OPINIONS.—DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY NEAR CAPE VERD.—DEATH OF DON HENRY.—HIS GREAT MERITS.

A CONTINUED series of events during the middle ages kept the attention of European nations directed towards

the East. In Greece and Italy the advantages of the Indian trade were never totally lost sight of. The crusades, though they could not fail to create at first much anarchy and distress in the countries whence they emanated, must have had an amazing influence in enlarging the minds of men, and diffusing an acquaintance with the luxuries of the East. The ill effects of those expeditions against the Saracens, in exhausting the resources and retarding the internal development of European nations, were remotely counterbalanced by the relations to which they gave birth between countries widely separated from one another. The infatuation which led the princes of the West to spend their treasure in the attempt to rescue the Holy Land from the hands of infidels, redounded much to the profit of the Venetians and other maritime states of Italy, who could alone transport the troops or supply them with the provisions which were necessary to enable them to carry on their operations. This influx of wealth into the chief Italian republics gave fresh stimulus and an advantageous direction to their mercantile activity, and contributed to raise them to that degree of maritime prosperity which was destined, at no distant period, to attract the attention and awaken the rivalry of powerful kingdoms.

The wars which the rival states of Genoa and Venice continually waged with one another, however they may have interrupted the operations of commerce, were yet incidentally productive of important general benefits. The revolutions which seem most charged with ruin to mankind, the zeal of war, however destructive in its direct exertions, whatever, in short, exhibits a new train of objects, and prompts the human being to a more intense consideration of what is before his eyes, affords, in almost every instance, to the active mind of man, an opportunity of learning from it something advantageous to compensate its immediate evil. During the struggle for naval superiority between the principal states of Italy, the art of ship-building was considerably advanced, and the improvements that were first started

in the Adriatic were speedily conveyed to the remotest shores of western Europe.

In a country like Italy, where the avocations of trade were pursued even by the nobility, and where the arts of navigation were held in the highest esteem, it is natural to expect that those contrivances which assist the mariner in his path should have been first invented or brought to practical perfection. Among the remarkable events of this period of improvement must be reckoned the discovery of the mariner's compass, which is generally supposed to have been made about the year 1302, by one Flavio Gioja, a native of Amalfi, a place of some commercial importance in the territory of Naples. The particulars of Gioja's life, or the circumstances which led to and attended on his discovery, are not disclosed to us by the meagre and imperfect historians of those times. That Gioja possessed conspicuous merit is evident from the circumstance that his name has been preserved as the author of an instrument which at that time held but a comparatively humble rank in the list of useful inventions; but he cannot, with strict accuracy, be styled the discoverer of the mariner's compass, which was known, more or less completely, at least a century before.

That wonderful property of the magnet, by which it attracts iron, did not escape the observation of the earliest philosophers of Greece; some of whom, unable to explain from mechanical influence this inscrutable mystery of nature, ventured to conclude that the magnet has a soul, a hypothesis evidently resting on the belief that a spiritual being alone can operate at a distance and without the necessity of contact. The polarity of the magnet, or its property of pointing when freely suspended, towards the poles of the earth, was not known or taken advantage of by the ancients.

The Chinese, it is said, were acquainted with the compass at a very early age, many centuries indeed before the Christian era; but this opinion does not rest on the familiarity of the Chinese with that instrument: its only support is derived from the obscure indications of

some ancient Chinese writings. Now the Chinese never made any proficiency in the arts of navigation; and if they had at any time an acquaintance with the properties of the magnet, and the uses to which they might be made subservient, yet, as they never learned the habitual application of the mariner's compass, they cannot without the fullest proof be admitted as its inventors.[c]

The steps by which man ascends to important discoveries are so gradual and successive, that when he has once gained the eminence, and views retrospectively how short a distance he has travelled, he feels strongly inclined to believe that those who have advanced some way must surely achieve the whole; yet the history of art sufficiently proves how wide an interval there is between the first rudiments of a useful discovery and its ultimate perfection.

The Arabians, like the Chinese, are said to have employed the compass to guide them through the trackless sands of the desert, or to enable them at the hours of prayer to direct their faces with precision towards the city of Mecca and the tomb of the prophet. Yet the navigations of the Arabians were as timid and as lingering as those of other nations, and never acquired that boldness and enterprise which among a seafaring people must have inevitably resulted from so fortunate a discovery. In the sixteenth century, moreover, when the Portuguese first visited the Indian seas, they found that the Arabians, the chief navigators of those seas, steered wholly by the stars or by the land, quite ignorant of the compass.

Some affirm, that king Solomon and the Hebrews were acquainted with the compass, while others say as much for the Hindoos. But setting aside these ill-supported pretensions, it may in general be admitted, that the germs of this as well as of many other useful inventions may have long lingered in the East, without arriving at that stage of mature perfection, without which it continued practically worthless. The phenomena of nature are as frequent and as obvious in China as in Italy, and the seeds of art and knowledge were widely scattered on

the lap of human nature, before they were called into life by the fructifying genius of the West.

Although the claims of the Arabians to the merit of being the discoverers of the compass cannot be fully admitted, yet there is strong reason to believe that they were familiarly acquainted with the rudiments of the invention. The earliest mention made of the mariner's compass by a European writer occurs in the works of Guiot de Provins, a troubadour or Provençal poet, who spent some time at the court of Frederic Barbarossa, in 1181. The poet here not only mentions the magnet, its property of turning to the pole, and its being suspended, but he also adds that it is useful to direct the mariner through the ocean.* It is again expressly noticed by the cardinal de Vitry in 1204, as the well-known guide of seamen. Already in the middle of the thirteenth century the mariner's compass was in general use among the Spanish navigators †: now the learning and poetic vein of the troubadours, and every proficiency in art of the Spanish nation in the thirteenth century, were unquestionably derived from the civilisation of the Moors; and it may therefore be presumed that this people were not ignorant of the compass.

In a letter written by Peter Adsiger, a German physician, and dated in 1269, the writer gives a minute and elaborate account of the construction of the mariner's compass; and it is worthy of notice, that he also points out the declination of the needle, or the inexplicable circumstance of its deviating more or less in its direction from the true north. Thus it is evident, that Gioja cannot be considered as the first inventor of the mariner's compass, but merely as its improver, or the person who showed all the advantages that might be expected from its adoption. Yet the change which the employment of this instrument was destined to produce in the character of navigation was not instantaneous;—mariners at first adopted the compass as a useful companion, and not as the sole guide.

* Claude Fauchet, Recueil de l'Orig. de la Lang. Franç. p. 555.
† Capmany, Quest. Crit. Quest. II.

The compass, it has been seen from the narrative of the Zeni, was employed by the Scandinavian mariners in their voyages to the western seas in the fourteenth century. The great fisheries of the northern seas were in former ages, as well as at present, the chief school of expert and hardy seamen; and they also gave rise to a close correspondence between the Hanse Towns and the commercial republics of Italy. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that every improvement made by the Italians in the arts of ship-building and navigation were immediately communicated to the North, or that ships were constructed in the fifteenth century in the ports of England, equalling in size and solidity the celebrated carracks of Venice.

Among the events which had an important influence in directing the energies of western Europe, the wars between the Spaniards and the Moors must not be overlooked. The Arabians had carried with them into Spain their Oriental customs and their magnificence; and their mercantile operations extended, it has been seen, quite across the old world, from the Atlantic to China, and from the interior of Africa to the heart of Siberia. In Spain the luxury of the Moorish princes was carried to the highest pitch. In that country all the austere precepts of the Koran appear to have been relaxed, and religion caused little restriction on the wants arising from refinement. The great trade of the Arabians filled Spain with the productions of the East. The Spanish nation could not fail to receive the contagion of luxury even from enemies; but their intercourse with the Moors was not always hostile, and the manners of the polished courts of Seville and Grenada were naturally imitated by the Christian princes of Arragon and Castile.

The degree in which the Moors retained the sumptuous habits of the East, and how well they supplied their wants by their trade with the Levant, are manifested in one remarkable event. After the great victory obtained by the Christians in 1340, near Tarifa, over the combined forces of the kings of Grenada and Morocco, an

immense booty was found in the camp of the vanquished. Independent of the silks, the cloth of gold, and precious stones, divided by the conquerors, the quantity of gold and silver, both coined and in ingots, was so great, that the value of those precious metals is said to have fallen one sixth part in consequence, throughout the dominions both of Spain and France. In the same age the Spaniards had acquired the taste for all the rare productions of the East. When Alphonso XI. entered Seville in 1334, the streets through which he rode were hung with silk and cloth of gold, and the richest perfumes were burned in all the houses. The sumptuary laws enacted by the same monarch were unable to prevent even the men from decking their clothes with pearls.

There can be little doubt that the pearls, perfumes, and other commodities of Eastern luxury were brought into Spain chiefly by the Moors; and that as the hostilities between this people and the Spaniards became daily more embittered and implacable, the supply of the luxuries now come into vogue grew continually less adequate to the demand. The markets of Venice and Genoa could hardly have been so copiously stocked or so advantageous to the Spanish merchants as those offered by the Moors. It appears, therefore, that the expulsion of the Moors from the peninsula of Spain may be reckoned among the motives for seeking a new course to India by the ocean.

But the Portuguese were the first to feel the whole force of this incentive: they were the first to drive the Moors completely from their dominions; and not contented with gaining this advantage, they pursued the fugitives to the shores of Africa. John I., king of Portugal, attended by his sons and principal nobility, made a descent on Africa in 1415, and took the city of Ceuta from the Moors. On his return he conferred on his fifth son, Don Henry, the dukedom of Visco, and appointed him governor of the recent conquests as the reward of his valour and ability. Don Henry was an able and active-minded prince, who united the accom-

plishments of the scholar to those of the cavalier, and was well versed in all the learning of the day. He appears to have early contracted a passion for maritime enterprise; and the political situation of Portugal left no choice as to the quarter towards which his energy should be directed. While residing in Africa he received much information from the Moors, respecting the populous nations of the interior of Africa, and of the Jalofs bordering on the coast of Guinea: he justly concluded that these might be arrived at by the ocean, and resolved to overcome by perseverance the difficulties of the navigation.

In 1412, or three years before the reduction of Ceuta, Don Henry had sent a vessel to explore the coast of Africa. This expedition, which was not attended with any signal success, deserves notice, as being the first voyage of discovery undertaken by the Portuguese. The prince despatched a vessel every year with orders to proceed as far as possible along the African coast; and, animated by the example of his zeal, the mariners soon doubled Cape Non, which, as its name implies, had hitherto been the impassable boundary of their navigations. But beyond this a still more formidable obstacle arose before their eyes: the bold projection of Cape Bojador, with its violent currents and raging breakers running for miles out to sea, seemed a barrier which could not be even approached with safety by seamen steering near the shore.

In 1418, John Gonzales Zarco and Tristram Vaz Texeira, gentlemen of Don Henry's household, perceiving the anxiety of the prince to prosecute the discovery of the coast of Africa, volunteered their services in an expedition to double Cape Bojador and sail beyond it towards the south. They steered, according to the usual custom, along the coast, and must have failed in the proper object of their voyage, but accident compensated their want of skill or courage: a violent gale arose which drove them far out to sea; they had completely lost sight of land, and thought their fate inevitable, when, as the wind fell and the storm abated during the night,

they saw at break of day an island at a little distance from them. To this island, from the circumstance of their fortunate escape, they gave the name of *Puerto Santo*. Overjoyed at their discovery, they hastened back to Portugal, and related to the prince all the incidents of their voyage. They described the genial soil and climate of the newly-discovered island, the simplicity and inoffensive manners of its inhabitants; and requested permission to make a settlement upon it. Don Henry, willing to reward their success, and deeming the situation of the island advantageous for the prosecution of his schemes, immediately yielded to their desires. A new expedition was fitted out, consisting of three vessels, which were respectively commanded by Zarco, Vaz, and Bartholomew Perestrello, a nobleman of the prince's household. These commanders were ordered to plant a colony in Puerto Santo, and were provided with all the seeds and implements which were necessary for their purpose. They also carried with them, unfortunately, some rabbits, which being turned loose upon the island, multiplied with such astonishing rapidity, that in two years' time they were numerous enough to destroy all the vegetation of the island, and to cause it to be abandoned by the infant colony.

As soon as the settlement was effected, Perestrello returned to Portugal to make his report to the prince. Vaz and Zarco remained upon the island: while staying there, they observed from time to time a dark spot in the horizon, which, though it varied occasionally in distinctness, never changed its position with regard to Puerto Santo. They embarked, sailed towards this dim object, and found an island of considerable size, of most enchanting appearance, quite uninhabited, but covered with immense woods; and from this latter circumstance they gave it the name of *Madeira*. Having carefully examined the island, our voyagers returned to Portugal with the welcome intelligence of their discovery; and described in such glowing terms the superiority of this new island above all that had been hitherto found, that

don Henry resolved to establish a colony on it, and judiciously selected the vine and sugar-cane as the proper objects of its cultivation.

But the Portuguese adventurers Vaz and Zarco can only be allowed the merit of re-discovering the island of Madeira, which, it is probable, was obscurely known to seamen in the middle of the fourteenth century. It is said, that about the year 1344, an Englishman named Macham, flying with the fair Anne Dorset from the persecutions to which he was exposed from the anger of her relations, sought through the ocean some place of tranquil security, and was driven by a tempest to the shores of Madeira. Here he landed with his friends, to rest a little from the fatigues of the voyage; but the vessel in which he had arrived put to sea again without his knowledge, deserting him and his companions. The lady died of grief, and Macham, unable to bear this last calamity, expired on her grave five days afterwards. The survivors of the company fixed a large wooden cross with a rude inscription over the common grave of the unfortunate lovers; and constructing a canoe, found means to reach Morocco, whence they were sent into Spain. Whatever doubts may be raised with respect to the truth of this romantic story, it is evident that it betrays some acquaintance with the island of Madeira, which Portuguese writers agree to make the scene of the adventure. They add, that the port and district of *Machico* take their name from the inscription found there on the tomb of Macham.

About the year 1395, some adventurers of Andalusia, Biscay, and Guipuscoa, formed an association at Seville, and, with the permission of king Henry III. of Castile, equipped a squadron of five vessels, with which they visited the Canary islands, plundering all the populous districts, and carrying off, as captives, the king and queen of Lancerote with about seventy of the inhabitants. After they had loaded their vessels with wax and the skins of animals, the chief productions of these islands, they returned to Seville, where they realised a large pro-

fit by the adventure. They informed the king of the facility with which the conquest of those islands might be effected, and thus inflamed the avidity of the enterprising and needy. A few years later the dominion of the Canary islands, together with the title of king, was granted by the king of Castile to a Norman baron, John de Betancourt, who renewed his oath and homage on account of this estate to John II. in 1412. It does not appear that the Norman baron ever completed the conquest of those islands; and his successors, a little after, sold the Canaries to don Henry of Portugal for an estate in the island of Madeira.

It is remarkable, that previous to this enterprise of John de Betancourt, Norman adventurers had explored the western shores of Africa even as far as Sierra Leone; and the baron, before he had completely fixed himself in his insular dominion, ran along the coast from Cape Cantin to the Rio do Ouro, which is beyond Cape Bojador, made some captives, gathered information respecting the harbours, and even projected the erection of a fort to lay the country under contribution.

But so unequal and imperfect was the diffusion of knowledge in those ages, that the Portuguese navigators, prompted by the instructions and encouraged by the patronage of an enlightened prince, long despaired of accomplishing what had already been achieved by the Norman pirates. At length in 1433 one Gilianez, a native of Lagos, succeeded in making the passage round Cape Bojador; and on his return reported, contrary to the prevailing opinion, that the sea beyond that formidable cape was perfectly susceptible of navigation, and that the soil and climate were equally excellent. A little before this time don Henry had succeeded in procuring from the pope, Martin V., a grant, which at the present day would seem equally extravagant in its terms and in the authority whence it issued. The sovereign pontiff made a perpetual donation to the crown of Portugal of all lands or islands which had been, or might be, discovered between Cape Bojador and the East Indies, and

granted at the same time a plenary indulgence for the souls of all who might perish in the prosecution of an enterprise calculated to rescue those extensive regions from the hands of infidels and pagans. Thus prince Henry enlisted in his favour that religious enthusiasm which was among the most powerful principles of action in his age, and obtained a title to the exclusive possession of his discoveries, the validity of which was for a long time acknowledged by the courts of Europe.

In 1441 don Henry sent Antonio Gonzales and Nuno Tristan to continue the discoveries. The latter of these advanced as far as Cape Blanco, about a hundred and fifty leagues beyond Cape Bojador. They captured ten or a dozen Moors in this expedition; some of whom were persons of rank and opulence, who promised a handsome price for their liberation, if allowed to return to their native country. Gonzales was therefore despatched the following year, with instructions to land the Moors on the spot where they had been found. As soon as the vessel arrived on the coast, and it was known that the captives were on board, their friends assembled and paid their ransom in gold dust and negro slaves,—both objects of curiosity and admiration to the Portuguese. From the circumstance of receiving the gold dust here, Gonzales gave the name of Rio do Ouro, or Gold River, to the arm of the sea in which his ship was anchored. The negroes, about thirty in number, were carried to Lisbon, where they caused the most lively astonishment among the people. It is supposed that Tristan in this last voyage discovered the island of Arguin, some of the Cape Verd islands, and examined the coast as far as Sierra Leone.

The small quantity of gold dust brought home from the Rio do Ouro inflamed to a wonderful degree the spirit of adventure. The negroes called attention to a new world; and to have reached the countries which they inhabited was a striking proof of the progress of Portuguese navigation. At first, when the Portuguese endeavoured to advance beyond Cape Non, they found bare

deserts extending to the shore, uncheered by vegetation or the abodes of men; and they had some reason to fear that the opinion of those who thought the regions of the torrid zone to be uninhabitable might finally prove true: but when they reached the fertile countries near the Senegal, and found the country grow more populous as they proceeded farther south, their confidence revived, and they felt assured that nature placed no such insuperable barriers to their progress.

Don Henry, seeing that his labours now began to turn to some account, listened to the proposals of some inhabitants of Lagos, who, actuated by views of interest, equipped in 1444 six caravels, with which they sailed towards the coast of Guinea. Want of provisions compelled them to return before they had fulfilled their intentions; but they brought back a considerable number of negroes whom they had captured during the voyage. The rumour of these discoveries, and of the great profit resulting from them, drew into Portugal a multitude of strangers, particularly Italians, who were then reckoned among the most skilful and experienced seamen. The prince received favourably all who were recommended to him by their superior knowledge of astronomy and navigation, and gladly availed himself of their talents and acquirements. In 1444 he sent Vicente de Lagos and Aloisio de Cada Mosto, the latter a Venetian gentleman, to examine the African seas. After visiting the Canary and Madeira islands, these navigators directed their course to Cape Blanco and the Gambia, where they found Antonio di Nola, a Genoese, examining that coast by the orders of the prince. They then joined company and returned home. Cada Mosto made a second voyage in 1446, and afterwards published an account of his voyages, which was read with great interest, and procured him deservedly a very high reputation.

He makes us acquainted with the great success which attended at the outset the colonies of Madeira and the Canary islands. The soil yielded seventy for one; and the vineyards and sugar-plantations of Madeira had

already become in the highest degree productive. Orchil for dyeing, and fine goat-skins were exported from Canary. The native Canarians were surprisingly agile, being accustomed to traverse the cliffs of their rugged mountains. They could skip from rock to rock like goats, and sometimes took leaps of surprising extent and danger. They threw stones with great strength and wonderful exactness, so as to hit whatever they aimed at with almost perfect certainty, and nearly with the force of a musket-ball. The Canaries were tolerably populous previous to the arrival of the Portuguese; the *Guanches* or native inhabitants of the Great Canary being estimated at nine, and those of Teneriffe at fifteen thousand.

Respecting the Moors who inhabit the deserts opposite the island of Arguin, Cada Mosto relates that they frequent the country of the negroes, and also visit that side of Barbary which is next the Mediterranean. On these expeditions they travel in numerous caravans, with great trains of camels, carrying silver, brass, and other articles, to Timbuctoo and the country of the negroes, whence they bring back gold and *melhegatte* or cardamum seeds. The Arabs of the coast had also many Barbary horses, which they brought to the country of the negroes, and bartered with the great men for slaves; receiving from ten to eighteen men for each horse, according to their qualities. Some of these slaves were sold in Tunis and other places on the coast of Barbary; and the rest were brought to Arguin, and disposed of to the licensed Portuguese traders, who purchased between seven and eight hundred every year, and sent them for sale into Portugal. Before the establishment of this trade at Arguin, the Portuguese used to send every year four or more caravels to the bay of Arguin, the crews of which, landing well armed in the night, used to surprise the fishing villages and carry off the inhabitants into slavery. They even penetrated sometimes a considerable way into the interior, and carried off the Arabs of both sexes, whom they sold as slaves in Portugal.

The wandering Arabs to the north of the Senegal are called, by Cada Mosto, *Azanhaji*, or *wanderers of the*

desert. They had a singular custom of folding a handkerchief round their heads in such a manner that a part of it concealed the nose and mouth; for they deemed it improper to let their mouths be seen, except when eating. The Tuaricks, who inhabit the oases of the Great Desert, have the same custom, wrapping up their faces in such a manner as to conceal every feature but the eyes. Many of the Azanhaji informed our Venetian traveller, that when they first saw ships under sail, they took them for large birds with white wings that had come from foreign countries; but when the sails were furled, they conjectured, from their great length, and from their swimming on the water, that they must be great fishes. Others again believed that they were spirits that wandered about by night, because they were seen at anchor in the evening at one place, and would be seen next morning a hundred miles off, either proceeding along the coast towards the south, or putting back according to the wind, or other circumstances. They could not conceive how any thing human could travel more in one night than they themselves were able to perform in three days; by which consideration they were confirmed in the belief that the ships were spirits.

Cada Mosto was informed that there was a place called *Tegazza*, about six days' journey from *Hoden*, where large quantities of salt were dug up every year and carried on camels to Timbuctoo, and thence to the empire of Melli belonging to the negroes. On arriving there the merchants disposed of their salt in the course of eight days, and then returned with their gold. He was assured, that in the countries under the equator certain seasons of the year were so excessively hot, that the blood of the inhabitants would putrefy if it were not for the salt, and they would all die. From Melli the salt was carried on men's heads to the border of a certain water, — whether sea, lake, or river, Cada Mosto was unable to ascertain. When arrived at the water-side, the proprietors of the salt placed their shares in heaps in a row at small distances, setting each a parti-

cular mark on his own heap; and this being done, the whole company retired half a day's journey from the place. Then the other negroes, who were the purchasers of the salt, and who seemed to be the inhabitants of certain islands, but who would not on any account allow themselves to be seen or spoken to, came in boats to the place where the heaps of salt were placed; and, after laying a sum of gold on each heap as its price, retired in their turn. When they were gone, the owners of the salt came back; and if the quantity on the heaps was satisfactory to them, they took it away and left the salt; if not, they left both and withdrew again. "In this manner," says Cada Mosto, "they carry on their traffic, without seeing or speaking to each other; and this custom is very ancient among them, as has been affirmed to me for truth by several merchants of the desert, both Moors and Azanhaji, and other creditable persons."

On approaching the Senegal, our voyager was astonished to find how abrupt a change appeared in the face of nature on passing from one side of that river to the other; "for on the south side of the river," he observes, "the inhabitants are all exceedingly black, tall, robust, and well-proportioned; and the country is all clothed in fine verdure and full of fruit-trees; whereas on the north side of the river the men are tawny, meagre, and of small stature, and the country is all dry and barren. This river," he adds, "is, in the opinion of the learned, a branch of the Gihon, which flows from the Terrestrial Paradise, and was named the Niger by the ancients, and which, running through the whole of Æthiopia, divides into many branches as it approaches the ocean in the West. The Nile, which is another branch of the Gihon, flows into the Mediterranean." This belief, that the chief rivers of Africa and Asia flowed from common sources in some distant Æthiopian land, seems to have suffered little change from the days of Lucan and Virgil to those of Cada Mosto.

About eighty miles beyond the Senegal our voyager

arrived at the territory of a chief called Budomel, who appears to have been well known to the Portuguese as a great purchaser of European commodities. He received Cada Mosto with civility and attention; and the Venetian lived for four weeks on the hospitality of the negroes. The table of Budomel, according to the custom of the country, was supplied by his wives, each of whom sent him a certain number of dishes every day. He and his nobles ate on the ground without any regularity or social forms. Cada Mosto once ventured to declare to him, in the presence of all his doctors, that the religion of Mahomet was false, and the Romish the only true faith: at this the Arabs were exceedingly enraged; but king Budomel only laughed, and observed, "that the religion of the Christians was unquestionably good, as none but God could have gifted them with so much riches and understanding;" but yet he added, with some show of reason, "that inasmuch as God is just, and the Christians possess all the good things of this life, the negroes have a better chance of inheriting the heavenly paradise." The women of this country appeared to the Venetian extremely pleasant and merry, especially the young ones: they delighted in singing and dancing by moonlight. Quitting the country of king Budomel, Cada Mosto doubled Cape Verd, and sailed to the south along the coast. "The land," he says, "is here all low, and full of fine large trees, which are continually green, as the new leaves are grown before the old ones fall off, and they never wither like the trees in Europe; they grow also so near the shore, that they seem to drink, as it were, the water of the sea. The coast is most beautiful, insomuch that I never saw any thing comparable to it, though I have sailed much in the Levant and in the western parts of Europe. It is well watered every where by small rivers, which are useless for trade, however, as they do not admit vessels of any size." The narrative of Cada Mosto is in itself extremely entertaining; and it also shows the complete success that attended the exertions of the Portuguese prince, who lived to re-

ceive from his own servants an accurate account of the negro countries, and to see a considerable trade and flourishing colonies, the worthy progeny of his enlightened labours.

In the year 1449 king Alphonso granted a license to his uncle don Henry to colonise the Azores, which had been discovered by the Flemings and the Portuguese some years before. The settlements made on the Cape Verd, the Madeira, and Canary islands, formed so many schools of seamen, and afforded numerous incidental opportunities for the promotion of maritime discoveries. Every year new expeditions were fitted out, and the limit of navigation to the south was uniformly though but slowly receding. Don Henry had resided for many years at Sagres on Cape St. Vincent, where the Atlantic, spread before his eyes, continually called up to his contemplation his favourite schemes of geographical discovery. In this favourite retreat he expired in 1463, in the sixty-seventh year of his age; and the activity of maritime enterprise was in consequence suspended for some years.

During a long period of fifty-two years this patriotic prince devoted almost his whole attention, and the ample revenues which he enjoyed as duke of Visco and grand master of the military order of Christ, to his favourite scheme of extending the maritime knowledge of his country and promoting the discovery of the coasts of Africa. No very brilliant success, indeed, at any time rewarded his perseverance or the courage of his servants; but he laid an indestructible foundation of useful knowledge, too solid to give way to the ignorant prejudices of the age; and he united so many plans of immediate utility with his great project of discovery, as prevented the latter from ever falling into oblivion. The labours of his life had succeeded only in discovering about fifteen hundred miles of coast, for none of his servants had reached before his death within six or eight degrees of the equator; but the numerous successive efforts made under his commands, prove his solid conviction of the

possibility of extending the limits of navigation towards the south, and his unwearied perseverance in combating the obstacles that prevented the completion of his schemes.

CHAP. X.

THE PASSAGE BY THE CAPE DISCOVERED.

THE PORTUGUESE ERECT A FORT ON THE GOLD COAST. — THEIR INTERVIEW WITH THE NATIVE PRINCE. — THE POPE'S GRANT. — VOYAGE OF DIEGO CAM. — VISITS CONGO. — BRINGS HOME NATIVES. — KING OF CONGO FAVOURS THE CHRISTIAN FAITH. — THE KING OF BENIN DESIRES MISSIONARIES. — PRINCE OG EXPLAINED. — NEW EXPEDITIONS. — BARTHOLOMEW DIAZ DISCOVERS THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. — COVILHAM AND PAYVA DESPATCHED TO INDIA. — COVILHAM VISITS SOFALA. — ASCERTAINS THE PRACTICABILITY OF THE PASSAGE. — DETAINED IN ABYSSINIA. — VASCO DE GAMA. — ARRIVAL AT MOZAMBIQUE. — QUILOA. — MELINDA. — INDIAN PILOT. — REACHES CALICUT. — THE ZAMORIN. — ARTS OF THE MOORS. — DANGER OF GAMA. — ESCAPES. — ARRIVES AT LISBON. — HIS RECEPTION.

After the decease of don Henry, the illustrious promoter of maritime discovery, the progress of the Portuguese along the coast of Africa received a considerable check, as the attention of Alphonso V. was wholly engrossed by his quarrels with the court of Castile. Ever since the year 1453 considerable importations of gold had been made to Portugal from the coast of Africa, but the efforts to extend discoveries farther to the south appear to have been remitted about the same time. In 1469 a merchant named Fernando Gomez farmed the Guinea trade from king Alphonso for the yearly rent of five hundred ducats, and bound himself at the same time to extend the discovery of the coast five hundred leagues to the south during the period of his exclusive privilege. During this time were discovered the islands of Fernando Po, Prince's Isle, St. Thomas, and An-

nobon; the last being within a degree and a half of the equator.

No detailed relations remain of the several voyages in which these discoveries were effected; but it appears that during the period which elapsed between the death of don Henry in 1463 and that of king Alphonso, which took place in 1481, the navigations of the Portuguese along the coast of Africa had made a great advancement; comprehending the whole coast of Guinea, with its gulfs named the Bights of Benin and Biafra, the adjacent islands, and the shore extending southwards to the northern frontier of the kingdom of Congo.

On the accession of John II. to the throne of Portugal in 1481, the discoveries along the coast of Africa were resumed with fresh spirit. The revenues of John, while he was infante or hereditary prince, flowed principally from the profits of the Guinea trade or the importation of gold from the haven of Mina; and among the first measures of his reign, he turned his attention to the improvement and extension of that valuable branch of commerce. For this purpose he gave orders to construct a fortress and church at the port of Mina. All the requisite materials were shipped from Lisbon in a squadron of ten caravels and two transports, with 500 soldiers and 200 labourers or workmen of various kinds. The expedition was placed under the command of don Diego d'Azambuja, a brave and experienced officer.

As soon as the armament reached the coast of Guinea, Azambuja sent forward a person well acquainted with the country to apprize Camarança, the negro chief of the district, of their arrival, and to desire a conference with him. Early next morning the Portuguese disembarked, carrying their arms concealed upon their persons, lest they might unexpectedly meet with hostilities from the natives.

They then marched forward in pompous array to a great tree not far from the negro village of Aldea, and where a spot had been selected as a convenient situation

for the intended fortress. A flag bearing the royal arms of Portugal was immediately displayed upon the tree, and an altar was placed under the shade of its boughs, at which the whole company assisted in celebrating mass and offering up their prayers for the speedy conversion of the natives and the prosperity of the church which was to be erected on this spot.

No sooner was this religious ceremony finished than Camarança was seen approaching with a numerous retinue. Azambuja, sumptuously dressed, and ornamented with a rich golden collar, prepared to receive the negro chief with the most imposing solemnity: he seated himself on an elevated chair like a throne, having all his train arranged before him so as to form an avenue. The negroes were armed with spears, shields, bows, and arrows, and wore a kind of helmet made of skin thickly studded with fish teeth, which gave them a very martial appearance. The subordinate chiefs were distinguished by chains of gold hanging from their necks, and had various golden ornaments on their heads, and even on their beards. After the exchange of presents and other tokens of mutual respect and confidence, Azambuja addressed a speech to Camarança through the medium of an interpreter, in which he explained the purpose of his embassy and expedition; and used every argument he could think of to conciliate the friendship of the negro chief, to make him fully sensible of the power of the king of Portugal, and to reconcile him to the permanent establishment which was meditated on the coast. Camarança listened to the harangue and the explanation of it by the interpreter in respectful silence, keeping his eyes steadily fixed on the countenance of Azambuja. After which, casting his eyes for some time on the ground as if profoundly meditating what course he ought to pursue, he made the following guarded and judicious answer: —

"I am fully sensible of the high honour done me on this occasion by your sovereign. I have always endeavoured to deserve his friendship, by dealing justly with

his subjects, and by constantly exerting myself to procure immediate ladings for their ships. Hitherto the Portuguese who have visited these shores were meanly dressed and easily satisfied with the commodities we had to give them; and so far from desiring to remain here, were always anxious to complete their cargoes and to return to the country whence they came. But this day I observe a wonderful difference. A multitude of persons richly dressed eagerly demand permission to build themselves houses and to remain among us. Assuredly persons of such rank would never be able to endure the hardships of our climate; and they could not procure in this country the luxuries to which they have been accustomed in their own. Those passions which are common to all men will certainly produce disputes between us; and it were much better that we should continue on the same footing as hitherto, allowing your ships to come and go as they have always done heretofore; in which case, the desire of seeing each other occasionally, and the mutual advantages of trade, will preserve peace between us. The sea and the land, which are neighbours, are always at variance, each contending for the mastery; the sea violently endeavours to subdue the land, which with equal obstinacy defends itself against the encroachments of the sea."

The jealousy and distrust displayed on this occasion by Camarança surprised and perplexed the Portuguese commander; and it required the exercise of much address on his part to prevail on the negro chief to allow the fulfilment of his orders, and to prevent the necessity of resorting to measures of compulsion. When the workmen were next day making preparations to lay the foundations of the intended fortress on the coast, they observed a large rock which was commodiously situated to serve them as a quarry, and accordingly proceeded to work it for that purpose. It happened, however, unfortunately, to be an object of veneration to the negroes, who immediately flew to arms to oppose the impious violation of the sacred stone, and several of the workmen

were wounded before the irritated natives could be appeased by presents and excuses. At length, after the constant labour of twenty days, the fort began to assume a formidable appearance, and received, when completed, the name of Fort St. George of Mina. In a church consecrated within its walls a solemn mass was appointed to be celebrated annually in honour of the illustrious Don Henry, to whom the Portuguese owed their acquaintance with this country. Azambuja continued governor of this place during two years and seven months, and was honoured, on his return to Portugal, with particular marks of royal favour.

Deeply impressed with the important consequences that might be derived from the prosecution of discovery along the coasts of Africa, and especially of opening a passage by sea to India, of which he now had sanguine hopes, the king of Portugal, who had lately added to his other titles that of *Lord of Guinea*, applied to the pope for a confirmation of those grants which had been already conceded in the lifetime of don Henry. The sovereign pontiff, proud of an opportunity of exercising his high prerogatives, by which he pretended to dispose of kingdoms and define the rights of the greatest princes, strictly prohibited all Christian powers from intruding within these prodigious and indefinite bounds which he had bestowed upon the crown of Portugal. A few years afterwards, when it was rumoured that some Englishmen were preparing to make a voyage to Guinea, the king of Portugal sent an ambassador to Edward IV. of England, to explain to him the tenour of the pope's grant, and to induce him to prevent his subjects from navigating to the coasts of Africa. The king of England admitted the justice of the argument, and granted the request. Hitherto the Portuguese navigators, in the course of their voyages along the shores of western Africa, had been accustomed to erect wooden crosses as indications of their respective discoveries; but the king now ordered that they should erect stone crosses, about six feet high, inscribed with the arms of Portugal, the name

of the reigning sovereign, that of the navigator, and the date of the discovery.

In the year 1484 Diego Cam or Cano advanced beyond Cape St. Catherine, the last discovery made in the reign of king Alphonso, and reached the mouth of a considerable river called *Zayre* by the natives, but afterwards named the Congo. Diego proceeded a little distance up this river, till he met with some of the natives; but he was unable to procure any satisfactory intelligence from them, their language not being understood by the negro interpreters on board his ship. By means of signs, however, he learned that the country was under the dominion of a king who resided at a considerable distance from the coast, in a town or city called Banza, since named San Salvador by the Portuguese; on which he sent a party of his crew, conducted by the natives, with a considerable present to the king, intending at the same time to await their return. As they, however, were detained by unavoidable circumstances far beyond the period that was expected, Diego resolved to proceed to Portugal with an account of his discovery; and having gained the confidence of the natives, he prevailed on four of them to embark with him, that they might be instructed in the Portuguese language to serve as interpreters in the future intercourse with this newly discovered region; and he made the people understand by means of signs that in fifteen moons the persons whom he carried away should be returned in safety.

These Africans were men of some consequence in their own country, and were endowed with such natural quickness of understanding, that they acquired during the voyage to Lisbon a sufficient knowledge of the Portuguese language to be able to give a competent account of their own country and of the kingdoms or regions beyond it towards the south. The king of Portugal was exceedingly gratified by this discovery, and treated the Africans brought over by Diego with much kindness and munificence. Next year Diego Cam returned to the river Zayre or Congo, where he landed the four natives, who were

charged with numerous presents from king John to their own sovereign, and with messages inviting him to embrace the Christian faith.

When Diego had landed the Africans, and received back his own men whom he had left here on his former voyage, he proceeded to examine the coast to the south of the river Congo. How far he advanced in this voyage of discovery, is not distinctly mentioned by the Portuguese historians. But it appears that either from want of provisions, or from the desire to form a friendly connection with the king of Congo, Diego measured back his way to the river Zayre, where he was received with great distinction by the sovereign of the country. The reports of the negroes who had just returned from Portugal, and the liberal presents which they had brought to him from king John, had made a deep impression on the mind of the African monarch. He made many enquiries respecting the Christian religion; and being gratified with what he heard of its doctrines and solemnities, he appointed one of his principal officers, named Cazuta, to accompany Diego Cam as ambassador to king John; earnestly requesting the king of Portugal to allow this chieftain to be baptized, and to send some ministers of his holy religion to convert the Africans from their idolatrous errors. Diego Cam arrived safely in Portugal with Cazuta, who was soon afterwards baptized by the name of *John Silva*; the king and queen of Portugal condescending to be his sponsors at the holy font: this ceremony was closed with the baptism of his sable attendants. A short time previous to this event, Alphonso de Aveiro had brought to Portugal an ambassador from the king of Benin, who requested that some missionaries might be sent for the conversion of his subjects. This request was immediately complied with; and although the fickle and designing African prince thwarted the missionaries in every possible way, yet a great many negroes of that country were actually converted.

From the negro ambassador the king of Portugal

received the following curious intelligence: — *Twenty moons* (which according to their rate of travelling might be about two hundred and fifty leagues) to the east of Benin there was a powerful king, called *Ogané*, who was held by the pagan chiefs of that country in the same veneration that the sovereign pontiff was held in by the kings of Europe. According to long established custom, at the death of the king of Benin, his successor sent ambassadors to Ogané with a large present, entreating to be confirmed in the territory of which he was now the rightful heir. Prince Ogané gave him in return a staff and a covering for the head, similar to a Spanish helmet, all of glittering brass, to represent a sceptre and a crown: he also sent a cross of the same metal, to be worn on the neck, similar to those worn by the commanders of the order of Saint John. Without these ensigns the people did not conceive they had a rightful king, or one that was properly a king at all. During the whole stay of the ambassadors Ogané himself remained concealed from human eyes, and was never seen by any one, a silk curtain being always drawn before him: only at the time when the ambassador took leave, a foot appeared from behind the curtain; "to which foot they did homage as to a holy thing." The ambassadors were then presented with small crosses similar to those which were sent for the use of the king.

On receiving these details, and consulting all his cosmographers, the king of Spain had no doubt that this Ogané must be Prester John, the Christian monarch of the East, so long sought in vain. This curious error is not wholly incapable of explanation; for there are few fables that have not some share of historical foundation. It has been seen that Rubruquis, in the thirteenth century, spoke of Prester John as a Mongolian prince, said by the Nestorians to have been converted to Christianity, and whose history in the course of half a century after his death had become so obscure, that the intelligent monk was unable to learn the particulars of his life. The historians of the East, however, are not

quite silent respecting him. It appears that the Mongolian tribe, called Keraïtes, had embraced Christianity in the beginning of the eleventh century. Their princes were dependent on the Chinese empire, and affixed to their title of *Kohan* or *Khan*, king, the Chinese word *Wang*, which has the same signification: this is the origin of the name *Ung Khan* or *Wang Kohan*, which they usually bore. The Syrians in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were scattered all over Asia, and traded from the Mediterranean even as far as China: it may naturally be supposed that they were numerous among the Mongolian Christians: now the title *Wang Kohan*, which was borne by the prince of the Keraites, differs but little in sound from the Syrian expression signifying *John the Priest;* and by this appellation accordingly Europeans were made acquainted with the Christian potentate of central Asia.* The earliest mention of Prester John occurs in a writer of the twelfth century, who derived his information from the bishop of Gabala in Syria.†

All the early travellers agree in giving the title of Prester John to a prince named Ung or Unc Khan. Rubruquis, indeed, supposed Prester John to be a brother of this prince, hoping, perhaps, to get rid in this way of the confusion of names. The dominions, also, of the Christian monarch were at first unanimously placed in Tartary; but when Togrul Unc Khan was put to death by his relative Zingis Khan, in 1202, and the religion as well as the kingdom of the Keraïte princes disappeared in the revolutions which subsequently took place in Asia, European travellers transferred Prester John to any part of the East in which they could find a trace of Christianity. Carpini and many others place this fabulous monarch in India, all receiving their information from those, perhaps, who were but imperfectly acquainted with the solemnities of Christian worship.

* Marco Polo observes that "the name Un Khan is thought by some to have the same signification in the Tatar language as Prester John in ours." Marsden's Marco Polo, p 190. The *some* to whom he alludes were of course Syrians.

† Otho of Freysingen. Hist. of Frederic Barbarossa.

It was usual in the middle ages to give the name of India to all the distant countries of Asia, whether to the east or south. The ancients confounded, under the general name of *Æthiopia*, or sometimes under that of India, all the countries, whether in Asia or Africa, which are washed by the Indian ocean. The Arabian, Persian, and Turkish geographers, in like manner, give the name of India to Yemen, and all the southern parts of Arabia near the Indian seas. When the intercourse between Europe and the East was interrupted by the expulsion of the Franks from Syria, and the opportunity no longer existed of enquiring into the history of Prester John, the vague notions entertained respecting that mysterious personage became still more indistinct from the want of communication with Asia: it was only remembered that his dominions were situated somewhere in India. The maritime enterprises of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century had the passage to India for their principal object: the route to India at that time lay through Egypt; and it is not at all extraordinary that travellers passing through that country should suppose the first Christian sovereign they met with to be Prester John. Besides, Abyssinia was sometimes called *Middle India*, as Marco Polo testifies; and the sovereigns of that country frequently united in their persons the pontifical with the regal character; it was not, therefore, a capricious error which translated Prester John from Tartary to Abyssinia, nor did it originate altogether with the Portuguese.

In 1444, don Pedro, the regent of Portugal, had proposed to his council to send persons in search of the kingdom of Prester John, to solicit his friendship and alliance. The design was approved of, but unfortunate circumstances prevented its execution. When, however, the progress of maritime discovery along the coast of Africa increased the expectation of effecting the passage to India, the expediency of making an alliance with Prester John again came under consideration; and the intelligence received from the negro ambassador respecting the prince called Ogané decided the resolution of the

Portuguese council. With the double purpose, therefore, of procuring some information respecting the ports of India, by a journey over-land, and of finding Prester John, the king of Portugal despatched a Franciscan friar, named Antonio de Lisboa, with instructions to penetrate into India through Palestine and Egypt; but being ignorant of the Arabic language, the friar was unable to proceed beyond Jerusalem, whence he returned to Portugal. Though the king was disappointed in this attempt by the ignorance or want of enterprise of his agent, his resolution was not to be subdued by difficulties, and he immediately prepared to make fresh exertions both by sea and land for the attainment of his objects. For this purpose he sent Covilham and Payva to attempt the passage to India over-land, and fitted out a small squadron, consisting of two caravels of fifty tons each, and a small store-ship, to prosecute the discoveries by sea. This fleet was placed under the command of Bartholomew Diaz, a knight of the royal household. The preparations being completed, he sailed in the end of August, 1486.

Having arrived at Sierra Parda, about two degrees beyond the southern tropic, and a hundred and twenty leagues beyond the furthest point visited by preceding navigators, Diaz erected a cross bearing the arms of Portugal; then, with a resolution worthy of the great object which he had in view, he steered due south through the open sea, and lost all sight of land. Forced at length to the east by heavy gales, he approached a bay which he named *Dos Vaqueros*, or *the Shepherds'*, from the numerous flocks of sheep with their keepers which he descried upon the coast. He was now forty leagues to the east of the Cape, which he had doubled unawares. Continuing his course to the east, he reached an island to which he gave the name of *Santa Cruz*, because he there erected a second cross. From time to time he sent ashore negroes whom he brought from Portugal, and who were well apparelled, in order that they might attract the respect of the natives: he also

gave them merchandise of various kinds to exchange for the produce of the country, and instructed them especially to make enquiries respecting Prester John; but the natives were so savage and so timid that nothing whatever could be learned from them. When the fleet, now reduced to two vessels, reached the bay of Lagoa, the discontentment of the crews broke out into loud murmurs, insisting on their return. The stock of provisions was exhausted: the small vessel containing the stores had disappeared in the gales. Diaz, ignorant that he had already doubled that Cape which was the object of his search, entreated them to continue the voyage five-and-twenty leagues farther, representing to them how disgraceful it would be to return without success. The direction of the coast was now due east. The Portuguese at length arrived at the mouth of a river, which they called the *Rio do Infante*, at present the Great Fish River. But what was the joy and surprise of Diaz and his companions, when, on their return along the coast, they descried, in the midst of their vexation and disappointment, the very promontory which they had so long been seeking in vain. They planted another cross, and dedicated the place to St. Philip. To complete their satisfaction, they fell in with their store ship, which had now only four men remaining of its crew, the remainder having been massacred by the savages on the coast. Diaz, after determining well the position of the Cape, returned to Lisbon, where he arrived in December, 1487, after having discovered above three hundred leagues of coast. On account of the violent tempests which he had encountered near the southern promontory, he gave it the name of *Cabo Tormentoso*, or the Stormy Cape; but the king, unwilling to deter seamen by such a sinister appellation, and auguring great advantages from this new discovery, gave it the name which it still retains, — *The Cape of Good Hope*.

Pedro de Covilham had served when young in the wars of Castile, and afterwards, like many noblemen in that age, engaged in commercial pursuits. During his

residence in Africa he had been employed by his sovereign to negotiate some treaties with the Moorish kings, and acquired a great reputation for his knowledge and address. King John, who had made him an officer of his household, now selected him as a fit person to go in search of Ogané, or Prester John, whose dominions the Portuguese were led to believe were situated in Abyssinia. Covilham was instructed also to make enquiry whether it was possible to sail to the Indies from the Cape of Good Hope, which Diaz had recently discovered. Alphonso de Payva was appointed to accompany him; and the two travellers being provided by Calsadilla, bishop of Viseo, with a map in which Africa was described as being bounded on the south by a navigable sea, they took their departure from Lisbon in May, 1487. Their intention was to pass through Egypt. Covilham, who spoke the Arabic language fluently, joined a caravan of Arab merchants from Fez and Tremisen, who conducted him and his companion to Tor, at the foot of Mount Sinai, in Arabia Petræa, where they received some valuable information respecting the trade of Calicut. The two travellers separated at the Arabian sea-port of Aden. Payva passed over into Abyssinia; and Covilham proceeded to India, to ascertain the truth of the accounts which he had received from the Arab merchants. He was the first Portuguese who explored the seas of India preparatory to the great commercial revolutions that were to follow. Covilham visited Calicut, Cananor, and Goa. He then crossed over to Sofala, on the coast of Africa, in order to examine the celebrated gold mines of that country: there he obtained the first distinct account of the island of the Moon, or Madagascar, as it has been subsequently called. Satisfied with what he had discovered, he intended returning back to Portugal, when he learned at Cairo the death of Payva, who had been treacherously murdered there. Two Jews had been despatched from Portugal to bring him the intelligence. He immediately resolved to go himself in search of Prester John: with this intention he sent back one of

the Jews to Portugal with the notes and itinerary of his journey, accompanied by a map which had been given him by a Moor; and, attended by the other, he directed his steps to Abyssinia: here he met with the most honourable reception from the Negus or king, who derived so much advantage from his superior knowledge and intelligence, that he obliged him, whether by force or by persuasion it is not evident, to spend the remainder of his days in Abyssinia. Covilham married a wife, enjoyed a great fortune, and held the highest offices of the state. In the year 1525, when Rodriguez de Lima went as ambassador to Abyssinia, Covilham was still alive, though now at a great age, having been three-and-thirty years in that country. The old man wept for joy at the sight of his countrymen, who in vain begged permission to take him with them at their departure.

From Abyssinia Covilham frequently sent letters to the king of Portugal, who was glad to maintain so instructive and valuable a correspondence. He stated, among other things, that there was no doubt as to the possibility of sailing to India from the Cape of Good Hope, and affirmed that the Cape was well known to Indian and Arabian navigators. Thus the theoretical discovery of the passage by the Cape may be justly attributed to Covilham, as the merit of the practical discovery belongs to Vasco de Gama.

It was now generally believed that there did not exist any obstacle of importance to prevent the voyage round Africa to the Indian seas. But enterprises of a bold character remain often suspended until some man appears who is fitted to carry them into execution. Five years had elapsed since the discovery of the New World, and ten since that of the Cape of Good Hope, before Emanuel, king of Portugal, came to the resolution to send a fleet to India. The person chosen to command it was Vasco de Gama, a gentleman of the court, well known for his prudence, courage, and skill in navigation. Three vessels, carrying in all about sixty men, were fitted out for this great expedition. Vasco de Gama set sail the

eighth of July, 1497: he steered direct for the Cape Verd isles; and having cleared them, directed his course to the south till he came to anchor in the bay of Saint Helena, on the western coast of Africa, a little to the north of the Cape of Good Hope. Leaving this bay he arrived in two days at the southern extremity of Africa; but in his attempt to sail towards the west he had to struggle with the strong south-east winds which blow there continually during the summer season. His crews, disheartened by this unfavourable circumstance, wished to force him to return: but he found means to soothe their impatience, and by his firmness and address overcame every obstacle.

Steering to the east, along the southern shore of Africa, he anchored in the bay of St. Blaise, and arrived a little after at the islet of La Cruz, where the discoveries of Diaz had terminated. Here the coast of Africa begins to turn towards the north, and the Portuguese entered, for the first time, the Indian seas. Vasco de Gama, whose intention it was to find the countries which Covilham had visited, was careful never to lose sight of land; and wherever the country seemed to be inhabited he always sent some persons on shore to make enquiries, or even went himself when he saw symptoms of a greater population; but not receiving any intelligence of importance from the natives of the coast, he continued his course, and even passed by the country of Sofala, where he supposed that Covilham might be, without seeing any thing worthy of fixing his attention. At length, in the beginning of March, 1498, he cast anchor before the city of Mozambique, inhabited at that time by Moors or Mahometan Arabs, who lived under the government of a prince of their own religion, and carried on a great trade with the Red Sea and the Indies. The hope of traffic with the strangers procured the Portuguese at first a favourable reception; but as soon as it was known that they were Christians, every stratagem that could be devised was resorted to in order to destroy them. Gama, obliged to fly from their snares and treachery, directed

his course northwards for Quiloa, guided by a pilot of Mozambique, whom he had taken with him; but having approached the shore to the north of that place, the current prevented him from returning along the coast, and in consequence he steered for Mombasa. This city, better built than Mozambique, and carrying on a still greater trade, was in like manner inhabited by Mahometans, who treated the Portuguese with the same artful hostility. Gama departed without obtaining any information or assistance, and advancing eighteen leagues, arrived at Melinda, where he was more fortunate. Although the inhabitants of this city were also Mahometans, it would appear that commerce had softened and refined their manners. The sovereign of the country received Gama with every expression of favour: he went on board the Portuguese fleet, and invited Gama to return his visit; but the Portuguese commander, instructed by the past, was unwilling to expose himself to the bigotry of the people, and declined accepting the invitation; he sent, however, some of his officers in his stead, who were treated with honour and cordiality.

There were at the same time several ships from India in the harbour of Melinda, and even some Christians of that country, who warned Gama to be upon his guard, and gave him some information which proved eventually of great importance. Malemo Cana, an Indian of Guzerat, whom the king of Melinda had given to Gama as his pilot, was one of the most experienced navigators of those seas. It is said that he expressed no surprise when he saw the astrolabe with which the Portuguese observed the meridian altitude of the sun: he said that the pilots of the Red Sea made use of instruments of similar construction.

The fleet of Gama went from Melinda to Calicut in three-and-twenty days: this city, at that time the richest and most commercial of all India, was governed by a prince who bore the title of Zamorin. The messengers of Gama found means to be introduced to the ministers of this prince. The first negotiations were so successful

that the Portuguese were immediately permitted to enter the port; and the zamorin consented to receive Gama with the same honours which were usually shown to the ambassadors of the greatest monarchs. But the perfidious conduct of the Mahometans had rendered the Portuguese so suspicious and mistrustful, that the officers of the fleet solicited Gama to abandon his intention of going ashore and intrusting his person to the natives.

In a council which was held on the occasion, his brother Paul de Gama represented to him, in the strongest light, the dangers to which he was exposed; but Vasco was immovable: he declared his intention of landing on the following day, and ordered his brother to command the fleet in his absence: his spirit was exalted above the contemplation of danger, and the glory of his country engrossed all his thoughts. He advised his brother, in case the accidents which were predicted should take place, not to avenge his death, but to depart with the fleet without loss of time, to announce to the king the discovery of India, and his unhappy fate.

Next morning Vasco de Gama went on land, accompanied by twelve resolute men whom he had chosen to attend him. He was received with great pomp; and as he had to go five or six miles beyond Calicut to the country-house of the zamorin, he crossed the city through the midst of an immense multitude, who viewed the strangers with an admiration, which was heightened, no doubt, by the singularity of their costume, so unlike any that had hitherto been seen in India. The Portuguese admiral arrived next day at the zamorin's country house: the reception which he experienced at his first audience was favourable in the extreme; and Gama flattered himself that he should obtain for his country the privilege of carrying on an advantageous trade with Calicut. But circumstances soon occurred to thwart his expectations. The animosity of the Mahometans had nearly proved fatal to him: at Mozambique and Mombasa they looked upon the Portuguese as dangerous rivals in their trade, and were resolved to ruin them if possible. They

represented to the zamorin that these strangers were pirates, who found their way into the Indian seas solely in order to disturb the tranquillity of his states, and to carry on their usual avocation of pillage. These insinuations produced the desired effect. Gama had forgotten to bring with him a present worthy of a great prince: the few articles which he offered to the ministers appeared to them of so little value that they were rejected with contempt. This first disagreement was followed by a multitude of others; and at length the dissatisfaction of both sides had increased to such a degree, that Gama feared either that he should be detained as a prisoner, or perhaps put to death along with his companions. He received private information that under pretence of a reconciliation it was intended to draw the fleet into such a situation that it might be easily destroyed: he communicated this intelligence to his brother, by whose prudent measures the schemes of the Moors were completely frustrated. Vasco, on the other side, succeeded by his firmness and address in gaining the respect of the Indian prince and his ministers; and the negotiations being renewed, he convinced them of the advantages that were to be derived from an alliance with the Portuguese: while thus favourably disposed, they allowed him to return to his vessel.

As soon as Vasco de Gama got on board his fleet, he sailed without loss of time; and having repaired his ships at the Angedive islands, a little to the north of Calicut, he steered direct for Europe, to give an account of his discovery. In passing Melinda he took on board an ambassador from the king of that country, the only friend whom the Portuguese had found in the course of their voyage. He doubled the Cape of Good Hope in March, 1499, and arrived in Lisbon in September of the same year, that is to say, about two years after his departure. King Emanuel received Vasco de Gama with studious magnificence, celebrated his safe return with festivals, bestowed on him titles of nobility, and created him admiral of the Indies.

CHAP. XI.

COLUMBUS.

PARENTAGE OF COLUMBUS. — HIS EDUCATION. — EARLY VOYAGES. — SETTLES IN LISBON. — MARRIES THE DAUGHTER OF PERESTRELLO. — CONSIDERS THE PRACTICABILITY OF SAILING TO INDIA BY THE WEST. — OPINIONS OF HIS AGE. — HIS REASONINGS. — BECOMES CONVINCED. — PROPOSES HIS PLANS TO GENOA. — SEEKS THE PATRONAGE OF THE KING OF PORTUGAL. — FLIES TO SPAIN. — APPLIES TO THE SPANISH COURT. — SENDS HIS BROTHER TO THE COURT OF ENGLAND. — HIS DISAPPOINTMENTS. — DESPAIRS OF SUCCESS. — IS FAVOURED BY ISABELLA. — THE EXPEDITION RESOLVED ON. — SAILS FROM PALOS. — PARTICULARS OF THE VOYAGE. — LAND DISCOVERED. — FLEET VISITS CUBA. — ST. DOMINGO. — THE SHIP OF COLUMBUS WRECKED. — KINDNESS OF THE CACIQUE. — A FORT ERECTED. — THE FLEET RETURNS HOMEWARDS. — DREADFUL STORM. — MEANS TAKEN BY COLUMBUS TO PRESERVE THE MEMORY OF HIS DISCOVERY. — ARRIVES IN SAFETY AT THE AZORES. — REACHES PALOS. — RECEIVED WITH ENTHUSIASM. — PROCEEDS TO COURT. — HONOURS CONFERRED ON HIM BY FERDINAND.

THE discovery made by Vasco de Gama of a passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope had been preceded a few years by one of a far more novel and brilliant description in the opposite hemisphere. The Portuguese navigator had crowned by his success the persevering efforts of his nation, unremittingly continued during the course of seventy years: he had found out a new communication with that quarter of the world towards which the eyes of Europeans were always eagerly directed. Columbus on the other hand discovered a new world; not prompted by the encouragement of monarchs, nor continuing the track of previous voyagers, but by the sole force of his individual genius and enthusiasm, he at once effected an achievement, superior in boldness of design and in its important consequences to any other that occurs in the history of man.

Little is known of the early life of Columbus. Historians are generally agreed that he was born in the

state of Genoa in the year 1441. The little villages of Cogoreo and Nervi dispute with the cities of Genoa and Savona the honour of having given him birth. His family, though reduced to indigence by misfortunes, had been originally ranked among the most illustrious nobility of Placenza. He himself alludes to his illustrious origin in one of his letters: — "I am not," he writes, "the first admiral of my family: let them call me what they may. David was once a shepherd, and I serve the same God who placed him upon the throne." His ancestors lost their estates during the wars of Lombardy, and endeavoured to repair their fortunes by maritime adventures; for in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the nobility of the most civilised Italian states did not disdain to consider piracy as a legitimate source of wealth.

Dominico, the father of young Cristoforo Colombo *, sent him to Pavia, the chief seat of learning in Italy, to prosecute his studies; but these he soon broke off to commence his naval career. Yet he had already made an extraordinary progress, and preserved during his life the taste for literary cultivation which he had imbibed when young. His faculties developed at an early age: he surpassed his contemporaries in geometry, astronomy, and cosmography, towards which he appears to have had a peculiar inclination almost from his infancy. It is probable that he became soon distinguished for his courage and ability. He was captain of a ship of war, in the service of the king of Naples about the year 1473, and two years later commanded a squadron of Genoese ships and galleys. The troubles that broke out about this time in his native country may have induced him to seek for employment in the service of a foreign state. He went to Lisbon, where his brother Bartolomeo found a profitable occupation in constructing sailing charts for navigators. Portugal was at that

* The family name Colombo, was latinized into Columbus, the form which has been eventually adopted by the English language. In Spain, the great navigator conformed to the genius of the Castilian language, and called himself Cristoval Colon.

time famous for her discoveries; and a great number of Italians, especially Genoese, resorted thither, who by their knowledge and maritime ardour contributed not a little to the advancement of geographical science.

Christopher Columbus did not remain long idle: he set out on an arduous voyage to the North, in which he proceeded as far as the 73d degree of north latitude, or as he expresses it, 100 leagues beyond the Thule of Ptolemy; and he further remarks, that the land which he reached "does not fall within the line that includes the West of Ptolemy, but is much more westerly;" it is probable, therefore, that he approached the coast of Greenland. He undertook several other voyages to Guinea, to England, and to the islands possessed by Spain and Portugal in the Western Ocean; he soon became, in consequence, the most experienced navigator of his time. He took notes of every thing he saw, compared them with the ancient and modern systems of cosmography; he drew maps, constructed globes, and thus kept his mind intently fixed on the studies in which he was destined to effect so great a revolution.

During his residence in Lisbon he married donna Philippa, the daughter of Pedro Perestrello, a distinguished pilot, who had been employed by don Henry to colonise the island of Santo Puerto. By this marriage, Columbus procured access to the charts and papers of Perestrello and of other experienced navigators connected with his wife's family. In his daily discourses with the able geographers, astronomers, and pilots who were at this time assembled in Lisbon, he consulted them on the possibility of discovering by sailing to the West the countries of Cathay and Zipangu described by Marco Polo. Martin Behaim, in conjunction with some philosophers of the court of John II., had just proposed to seamen the use of the astrolabe to observe the latitude in the open sea. Columbus perceived that this instrument would enable the mariner to leave the tedious course near land. He was the first to use it; and framed

rules to fix the position of vessels by longitude and latitude. He studied the ancients carefully, and compared their geographical knowledge with the comparatively recent statements of Marco Polo. His constant meditation on these authorities and some facts that were lately come to his knowledge confirmed him in the hope of finding the Zipangu of the modern travellers by sailing directly to the West.

The geographical knowledge of the Italians, and indeed, of every European nation before the time of Columbus, was founded on the works of the ancients, and especially of Ptolemy: they added to the maps of the latter the countries described by Marco Polo, which were situated to the east of the limits assigned by the ancients to the continent of Asia. Now Ptolemy had given too great an extension to that quarter; and when to his delineation were added the great countries of Cathay and Zipangu, it was necessary to pass considerably beyond the semi-circumference of the globe. Columbus, from these inaccurate premises, drew the just conclusion, that by proceeding in a direction opposite to that which had been followed by Marco Polo, that is to say, by sailing towards the West, those countries might be reached by a much nearer way. The maps of Andrea Bianco and the globe of Martin Behaim place Zipangu still nearer to the coasts of Africa, the distance between those countries not exceeding a sixth of the circumference of the earth. In the same maps the isles of the Azores are placed between Zipangu and Africa, so as still farther to diminish the distance of open ocean to be traversed by the navigators.

In the age of Columbus the existence of some great western region was popularly believed. It has been seen, that even in the fourteenth century maps were drawn representing the island of Antilia in the Atlantic Ocean. In the fifteenth century indications of the same kind occur in greater numbers. The minds of all appear to have turned, without observing it, towards this one great object, and prepared the discovery of the truth, as is

often the case, by fortunate errors or inventions. The inhabitants of Madeira and Puerto Santo thought they saw at certain times, and in clear weather, land appearing in their western horizon, and always in the same direction. This persuasion of the islanders continues perhaps to the present day. In the middle of the last century the visionary land was seen so distinctly that a vessel actually sailed to discover it, but on that, as on every previous attempt, it faded before research. The name of St. Brandon, a Scottish saint, given to this western land, suggests that the first account of it was carried to the Madeira islands by the Northmen, among whom the belief of western lands was supported by very ancient traditions. At the present day, the inhabitants of the Arran islands, on the western coast of Ireland, who are descended from the Northmen, believe that from time to time they see the shores of a happy island rise above the waves; and they say that Ireland was formerly united to that land, until, for the sins of its inhabitants, the greater part of it was engulfed in the ocean.*

But Columbus received information of a character still more likely to influence his judgment. Pedro Torrea, his wife's relation, had found on the coast of Puerto Santo pieces of carved wood evidently not cut with a knife, and which had been carried thither by strong westerly winds: other navigators had picked up in the Atlantic canes of an extraordinary size, and many plants apparently not belonging to the Old World. The bodies of men were found thrown by the waves on the shore of one of the Azores, who had features differing essentially from those of Africans or Europeans, and who had evidently come from the West.

The fables respecting the island of St. Brandon, the Seven Cities, Antilia, and other supposed regions of the West, did not perhaps weigh much with the judgment of Columbus, yet neither is it likely that one of his enthusiastic temper should absolutely reject them; but, at all events, these popular tales had the effect of recalling his

* Reilly, Trans. Roy Irish Acad. xv.

favourite project continually to his view, and of inflaming his desire to carry it into execution. But his reasonings on the authorities and authentic facts stated above produced on his mind a thorough conviction that he should find Zipangu or some other land by sailing to the West.

He now prepared to effectuate his schemes: his private fortune was too moderate to allow him to fit out an expedition at his own expense. In the ardour of patriotism, therefore, he proposed his plans of discovery to the government of his native city; but he had been long absent from Genoa; his merit was unknown, and his proposals were rejected with contempt. Columbus next addressed himself to the king of Portugal, who directed that his proposals should be examined. The merit of his plans was fully appreciated, but, by a shameful breach of good faith, the king resolved to execute them secretly without the knowledge of their author. The pilot selected for the attempt, however, wanted the ability to realise the designs of Columbus. Unable to direct his vessel when out of sight of land, he was tossed for a long time, quite ignorant of his course, and with difficulty regained the port. To justify his failure, he represented Columbus as a visionary; and this great man, shocked at the base injustice with which he had been treated, resolved to abandon Portugal for ever.

To obviate a similar breach of confidence for the future, Columbus now resolved to make overtures at the same time to the kings of Spain and England. He sent his brother Bartholomew to London, where he was well received; but his negotiations were interrupted by the engagements which were in the mean time entered into with the court of Spain. Christopher Columbus left Lisbon secretly in the end of the year 1484, and arrived at the port of Palos. Here he experienced the fate of all who are superior to their age, and failed to make himself understood by his contemporaries: he had to struggle with the weakest and most narrow-minded prejudices. Five whole years he remained at the court of

Spain without finding any encouragement. The tender intimacy which he contracted with donna Beatrix Enriquez of Cordova, by whom he had a son, Fernando, who afterwards wrote the history of his life, may have been the chief cause of his continuing so long in a country, where his abilities procured him so little consideration. In a fit of grief and dejection, caused by this unreasonable neglect, he determined on applying to the king of France. But at the moment when he was preparing to quit Spain, one of his friends, named Marchena, who enjoyed some credit with queen Isabella, procured him the patronage of that princess. The negotiations were accordingly resumed, but they again terminated without success. On this occasion, however, justice was done to the superiority of his views; only the reward which he stipulated for himself in the event of his success appeared to the court to be excessive.

Columbus, deeply dejected at the annihilation of all his hopes, and mortified at the distrust and coldness with which his grand projects and solid reasonings were received, determined to abandon the country in which he had met with so many disappointments; but the queen, in the mean time, who was brought to perceive the great importance of the discoveries promised by Columbus, and the dangers of abandoning those advantages to another power, consented to defray from her private purse the charges of the expedition. A courier was sent after Columbus: he was overtaken at the distance of two leagues from the camp of Santa Fe, where the court then resided: he returned immediately with the messenger, the fear of disappointment still agitating his breast. At length, after eight years spent in fruitless solicitations, with numberless anxieties and disappointments, he succeeded in his purpose; and the court of Spain resolved to send him with an expedition in search of the New World.

On the 19th of April, 1492, were signed the articles of the agreement by which Christopher Columbus received from the crown of Spain the hereditary titles of

admiral and viceroy in all the seas, lands, and islands which he should discover. On the 12th of May he proceeded to the port of Palos, where the armament was fitting out. Three vessels were chosen for the voyage: that of Columbus was called the Santa Maria; the second, commanded by Alonzo Pinzon, was named the Pinta; and the third, under the command of Yanez Pinzon, the brother of the preceding, the Nina. Martin Pinzon, the youngest of the three brothers, was the pilot of the Pinta. The total number of men embarked in the three vessels was ninety, according to some, or a hundred and twenty, according to others.

On Friday, the third of August, 1492, the expedition sailed. They directed their course to the Canary islands, where they remained a little time. On the sixth of September they left those islands; and that day may be regarded as the first day of the most memorable voyage which has ever been undertaken. The winds at first were light, there was sometimes a dead calm, and little way was made: the second day the fleet lost sight of land. The companions of Columbus, who were now advancing over the ocean, unable to conjecture the termination of their voyage, began to feel astonished at the boldness of the enterprise. Many of them sighed, and gave way to tears, believing that they should never return. Columbus consoled them and inspired them with new courage. On the eleventh of September, when they were a hundred and fifty leagues from the island of Ferro, they found the mast of a ship, which seemed to have been brought there by the current. Columbus made daily observations on the meridian altitude of the sun: he marked the declination of the needle, and noted carefully the aspect of the heavens, and all the phenomena of the ocean. On the fifteenth, three hundred leagues from the isle of Ferro, during a dead calm, they saw a fire-ball strike the sea, about five leagues ahead of the fleet. During the nine days that they had been sailing without seeing any thing but the ocean and the sky, the winds had blown constantly from the east. The seamen, who had never before ventured so far from land,

finding that the wind continued unfavourable for their return, thought that it would be impossible for them to reach Spain again. On the following day they saw some birds, which revived their hopes, as they were thought to be of a species which never went more than twenty leagues from land. The sea soon after seemed covered with marine plants, which had the appearance of being recently detached from the rocks on which they had grown; and the men were convinced that land could not be far off. On the eighteenth Alonzo Pinzon, who sailed ahead, told Columbus that he had seen a multitude of birds in the west, and that he thought he had discerned land towards the north: he wished to go in search of it; but Columbus, convinced that he was mistaken, ordered him to hold on his course. They sounded here with a hundred fathoms, and found no bottom.

The sailors, finding that their hopes of seeing land had not been realised, began to feel discouraged, and to complain of being thus exposed in the midst of the wide ocean far from every help.

On the twentieth they saw birds coming from the West, and a whale: the sea was thickly covered with floating weeds: these indications of land repressed their murmurs for a time. On the twenty-first, the wind, which had hitherto been favourable, turned to the south-west, and blew against them. The men, long since secretly disposed for revolt, now cried out that the wind was favourable to return to Europe, and that it ought to be taken advantage of. Columbus tried to appease them, telling them that these were only light breezes, which indicated the proximity of some land; but the discontentment increased, notwithstanding his arguments and remonstrances, — and the men at last threw off all subordination. They blamed the king who had ordered the voyage, and persisted in their wish to return. Columbus conducted himself with uncommon prudence: he encouraged some with assurances that land was not far distant, and threatened others with the anger of the king. But the foul winds grew more violent: the sea

became boisterous; and it was impossible to make way to the West: this delay, in accordance with their wishes, again appeased them. Birds were now seen every day, and some crabs were taken on the weeds that floated on the surface of the sea. While the minds of his crew were in some degree tranquillised by these appearances, the admiral seized the opportunity of resuming his course towards the West. But the tranquillity was only apparent; the murmurs commenced again, and in more threatening tones. The men collected into groups, and declared loudly that they had already done their duty, in advancing further in the ocean than any one had done before; that Columbus wished to make them the victims of his ambition; and while he procured distinction for himself, cared little about the destruction he entailed on others. Some even went so far as to propose throwing him into the sea and then returning. Columbus knew the dangers of his situation: he tried every means of removing the discontentments of the men: he represented to them the consequences of their disobedience if they should prevent him from executing the commands of the king: he tried every argument of persuasion: he enumerated to them all the indications that occurred of land, and assured them that ere long they should find the object of their search. The violence of the discontent was gradually appeased; but their disquietude and anxiety were never wholly dissipated.

On the twenty-fifth of September, just as the sun was setting, while Columbus was engaged in conversation with Yanez Pinzon, a voice cried out "Land, land!" He who gave the cry pointed out a dark mass in the south-west like an island, about twenty-five leagues distant. All were overjoyed: the men returned thanks to God, and congratulated Columbus. He immediately changed his course towards this appearance of land, and sailed all night in the same direction. At day all eyes were turned to that quarter; but the land which had caused so much joy had disappeared, and they found that clouds had cheated them with the delusive vision.

The course towards the West was again resumed to the general regret. Some suppose that Columbus contrived this stratagem to revive the sinking spirits of the men; but they soon relapsed into their despondency. Nevertheless, the multitude of birds which they saw during the day, the pieces of wood which they picked up, and many other symptoms of land, prevented them from giving themselves up wholly to despair. Columbus, in the midst of so much uneasiness and dejection, preserved his usual serenity.

On the first of October he calculated that he was seven hundred and seven leagues to the west of the Canaries. The following day hopes were kept alive by the increasing number of birds; and the vessels were surrounded with fishes. On the third nothing was seen, and the sailors began to imagine that they had passed some island. They thought that the birds which on the preceding day had crossed their course must have been passing from one island to another; and they wished to turn either to the right or to the left, to find the shores which they supposed to be in those directions. But Columbus remained immovable, and held his course uniformly to the West: he was aware that nothing had appeared which could determine with certainty in what direction he should find land. His firmness excited among the men a spirit of revolt more formidable than ever; in short, the time was now come when he was no longer master. But Providence interposed in his behalf. On the following day, the fourth of October, the symptoms of land increased, the birds flew so near the ships that a seaman killed one with a stone: hopes again revived. On the seventh, they thought that land was visible on board the Santa Maria, but it seemed covered with clouds; and after past disappointments there was no sanguine expectation. The Nina, which was ahead, believed it to be really land, fired her guns, and hoisted her flags. The joy and excitement was extreme in the whole fleet; but as they advanced, the supposed land gradually grew less, and at

last totally disappeared from their view: their grief and despondency now returned. Yet immense flocks of birds continually hovered over their heads. Columbus said that he could discern some species that never fly far from land; and as he remarked that these all turned towards the south-west, he resolved to follow the same direction. He told his crew that he had never expected to find land before he had made seven hundred and fifty leagues; and announced to them that the time was come when they should arrive at the object of their wishes.

On the eighth, the men caught about a dozen of birds of different colours. During the night they saw numbers of them, small as well as large, all passing from north to south. At day-break the flights were increased, and always in the same direction. The air was much cooler than it had been in the preceding part of the voyage, and wafted the vegetable smell by which seamen can distinguish land at a considerable distance. The men had been so often cheated with false appearances that they were now become insensible to every thing that could animate their courage. Columbus, by his firmness and address, had suppressed their revolts, but he had never been able to silence their murmurs, and was still afraid of new discontents.

On the eleventh of October the indications of land became more and more certain. A reed quite green floated by the vessel; and a little after some kind of fish were seen, which were known to abound in the vicinity of rocks. The Pinta picked up the trunk of a bamboo and a plank rudely carved. The Nina saw a branch of a tree with berries on it. They sounded at sunset and found bottom. The wind was now unequal; and this last circumstance completely satisfied the mind of Columbus that land was not far off. The crew assembled as usual for evening prayer. As soon as the service was concluded, Columbus desired his people to return thanks to God for having preserved them in so long and dangerous a voyage, and assured them that the indications of land were

now too certain to be doubted. He recommended them to look out carefully during the night, for that they should surely discover land before the morning; and he promised a suit of velvet to whoever first descried it, independent of the pension of ten thousand maravedis which he was to receive from the king. About ten o'clock at night, while Columbus was sitting at the stern of his vessel, he saw a light, and pointed it out to Pedro Gutieres: they both called Sanchez de Segovia, the armourer, but before he came it had disappeared: they saw it, nevertheless, return twice afterwards. At two o'clock after midnight, the Pinta, which was ahead, made the signal of land. It was in the night of the eleventh of October, 1492, after a voyage of thirty-five days, that the New World was discovered. The men longed impatiently for day: they wished to feast their eyes with the sight of that land for which they had sighed so long, and which the majority of them had despaired of ever seeing. At length day broke, and they enjoyed the prospect of hills and valleys clad in delicious verdure. The three vessels steered towards it at sunrise. The crew of the Pinta, which preceded, commenced chanting the *Te Deum*; and all sincerely thanked Heaven for the success of their voyage. They saw as they approached a number of men collected on the shore. Columbus embarked in his cutter, with Alonzo and Yanez Pinzon, carrying the royal standard in his hand. The moment he and all his crew set foot on land, they erected a crucifix, and prostrating themselves before it, with tears in their eyes thanked God for the goodness he had manifested towards them. When Columbus rose he named the island *San Salvador*, and took possession of it in the name of the king of Spain, in the midst of the astonished natives, who surrounded and surveyed him in silence. Immediately the Castilians proclaimed him admiral and viceroy of the Indies, and swore obedience to him. The sense of the glory which they had acquired recalled them to their duty, and they begged pardon of the admiral for all the vexations they had caused him.

The island which the Spaniards had discovered was called by the natives *Guanahani*; but it has since preserved the name of San Salvador given to it by Columbus. The natives appeared simple and inoffensive. At first they were astonished beyond measure at the fair complexion of the Spaniards, at their beards, and their apparel; but in a short time they approached them with confidence, and were highly gratified at receiving caps of different colours, beads, and other trifles. When the admiral returned to his vessel some of them swam after him, others paddled in their canoes, and the sloop was quite surrounded with them. Both men and women were entirely naked. They were ignorant of the use of iron, and catching hold of the Spanish swords by the blades, many of them received slight wounds. On the morrow they came off to the fleet to exchange cotton for beads and little trinkets. They had appended to their ears little plates of gold, which soon caught the attention of the Spaniards. They were asked where they got the gold; and they replied by signs and gestures, stretching out their arms towards the south, to signify that it came from a country lying in that direction. Columbus determined to go in search of that country; but before he left Guanahani he ascertained, by careful examination, that the islands offered no advantages for establishing a colony: he kept on board seven of the natives to serve as interpreters.

The fleet holding its course towards the south, discovered Conception island, the islands of Ferdinand and Isabella, and many others in succession. The farther they advanced the more information they received respecting the country abounding in gold. They learned, also, that it was called *Cuba*. Still continuing its course to the south, the fleet passed between the little islands called Los Arenas and Los Miraporos, and descried on the twenty-seventh of October the coast of Cuba. The Spaniards sailed along the eastern half of the north coast of that island to its very extremity, but wherever they attempted to land the natives took to flight; and it was with

great difficulty that the Indian interpreters brought from Guanahani found means at length to converse with them, and moderate their fears. The interpreters learned that some gold was found in Cuba, but that it was much more abundant in another country farther to the east.

The unbounded riches which the Spaniards imagined to be concealed in the newly-discovered countries inflamed their cupidity to such a degree, that they were no longer under the influence of any sentiment but that of gain. Alonzo Pinzon, the commander of the Pinta, which was the best sailer of the fleet, wishing to arrive first at the land of gold, crowded all sail, and was soon lost sight of. On the fifth of December Columbus, having now only two ships left, sailed from the eastern point of Cuba, and soon arrived at that rich country of which he had received such encouraging accounts. It was called by the natives *Hayti;* Columbus gave it the name of *Hispaniola;* but the appellation of *St. Domingo* has finally prevailed. The ships anchored at first in port St. Nicholas; but finding the country but thinly peopled, they proceeded along the northern coast, and at length cast anchor at a little distance from the place where the town of Cape François was subsequently built. The Spaniards found it extremely difficult to communicate with the natives, who took to flight, like those of Cuba, at the first appearance of the ships; but a lucky accident suddenly changed their dispositions. The Spaniards saved an Indian whose canoe was upset, and who, but for their assistance, must inevitably have been drowned. He was taken on board, treated with the greatest kindness and attention, and then sent ashore. This man immediately acquainted his countrymen with the treatment he had received; confidence was soon established, and the people flocked in numbers to the ships with fruits and other provisions. They exchanged their gold for bits of porcelain and glittering baubles of little or no value. The prince of the country, or *Cacique*, as he was called by his people, longed to see the strangers of whom he had received such favourable accounts.

Columbus treated him with distinction. This prince was named Guacanagari: he was loaded with ornaments of gold, and informed the Spaniards that the metal which they admired so much was found in a country situated farther to the east, called *Cibao*. Columbus, deceived by some resemblance of the names, believed at first that it was *Zipangu*; but he afterwards learned that Cibao was the name of a great mountain in the centre of the island, which towered above all the rest. Columbus visited the residence of the cacique: he was treated with every mark of honour, and contracted with the native prince a friendship which continued ever afterwards undiminished.

The fleet now proceeded towards the east, for the purpose of approaching the gold mines of Cibao. On the twenty-fourth of December, about eleven o'clock at night, just after Columbus had retired to rest, his vessel struck upon a reef, and notwithstanding all his efforts to get her off, she went over, and opened soon afterwards. He escaped with all his crew on board the Nina. The cacique immediately sent off boats to assist the Spaniards, ordered his subjects to aid them in saving their effects, and marked out a place in which they should be deposited. No theft was committed by the natives, who laboured with the greatest cheerfulness in carrying ashore whatever could be saved from the wreck.* Guacanagari himself came to console the admiral. He told him in the course of his conversation that his subjects suffered much from the invasions of the Caribs, a fierce and strong people, who came by sea, and that the natives of Haiti had fled from the Spaniards at first, because they supposed that these strangers were as dangerous as the Caribs. The admiral promised to defend him against his enemies, and took this opportunity of asking permission to make a settlement on the island. To this proposal the cacique willingly consented, and a fort was immediately constructed of the timbers of the wreck. Columbus chose thirty-eight men to remain here, under the orders of Diego d'Arena. The fort,

which received the name of *La Natividad*, was about three leagues to the east of the site where Cape Town was afterwards founded, on the borders of a creek called at present the bay of Caracole. The admiral left provisions in the fort, articles to barter with the natives, and whatever was necessary for its defence. He then took leave of the friendly cacique, with the promise to return soon.

On the fourth of January, 1493, Columbus set sail, proceeding a little to the east in order to complete the examination of the north coast of the island, and on his way met the Pinta near Monte Christo. He affected to be satisfied with the excuses made by Alonzo Pinzon to explain his parting company. At length, on the sixteenth of January, 1493, the two ships directed their course for Spain. The weather was remarkably favourable at the commencement of the voyage; but heavy gales came on when the ships were near the Azores, and the Pinta was a second time lost sight of. The admiral's little vessel was in the most imminent danger: the gale grew so violent that Columbus himself now despaired of ever reaching land: that which affected him most was the thought that his discovery should be buried with him in the ocean: he adopted the only means that remained to preserve the memory of it: he wrote a brief account of his voyage on two leaves of parchment, and put each of these leaves into a cask that was carefully closed so as to be impervious to the water: one of these casks was thrown overboard immediately, the other was allowed to remain on the deck to await the foundering of the vessel. But Providence interposed to save the life of this great man; the wind fell, and danger disappeared. On the fifteenth of February the Azores were in sight, and soon after the vessel came to anchor at Saint Mary's, and was refitted. After leaving the Azores another storm drove Columbus into the Tagus; and it was not till the fifteenth of March that he reached the port of Palos, from which he had taken his departure seven months and a half before, having in the mean time made a voyage which will render his name immortal. Alonzo Pinzon arrived about the same time at a northern port of Spain, and died a few days after.

Columbus was received at Palos with enthusiastic joy. The bells rang, and the magistrates, accompanied by all the respectable inhabitants, came down to the shore to receive him on landing: they repeatedly testified their admiration at his having successfully achieved what all the world believed to be impossible. His journey to court was a new triumph: people ran together from all parts to see the man who had accomplished such extraordinary things. He made a public entry into Barcelona: the whole city came out to meet him in procession. He walked in the midst of the Indians whom he had brought with him, and who were decked out in the fashion of their country. The fragments of gold and rarities which he had collected were carried before him in open baskets: in this way he proceeded through an immense crowd to the palace. Ferdinand and Isabella were seated on their throne awaiting his arrival: as soon as he appeared with his train they rose up. Columbus threw himself on his knees; but they commanded him to be seated in their presence. He then proceeded, with the modesty and frankness of conscious merit, to give an account of his voyage, and of the discoveries he had made: he showed the Indians who attended him, and the precious articles which he had brought. Ferdinand, delighted beyond measure at the success of the grand enterprise to which he had so slowly yielded his assent, confirmed to Columbus all his privileges, and permitted him to join to the arms of his own family those of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, with the emblems of his discoveries, and of the dignities resulting from them. Preparations were then ordered to be made for a second expedition, to complete so auspicious a commencement.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON:
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.